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# Fellowship

MAGAZINE OF THE
FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

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Dup

be Paul Carette

## NONVIOLENT SAINTS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

Ken Calkins
nn M. Swomley Jr.
Allan Brick
liam Robert Miller
Carl Seaburg

THE STUDENT PEACE UNION
UNILATERAL AND UNIVERSAL DISARMAMENT
THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT FOR TODAY
A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR PACIFISTS
BOMB-MAKERS

# Fellowship

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# in context

EDITORIAL COMMENTS

ON THE CURRENT SCENE

## .UB

So now there are four members in the rld's most dangerous club. France has acquired "status" in the only way nation-tes seem to know: by demonstrating its ility to kill as efficiently as its contem-raries can. Other would-be members of e nuclear club hover just offstage. Scien-ts say that Communist China is almost ady to apply, and SANE warns that twelve tions may be in the club within six ars. Meanwhile the sixteen-month-old ree-power conference on nuclear testing ods its way at Geneva, now hopeful, now spairing, but still the key to any hope r more extensive disarmament.

While all this is going on, our own na-n still seems to much of the world to splay more complacency and indiffer-ce than genuine concern. Such discus-n as goes on among Americans seems rived from popular television and comic oks, stated in terms of good guys and d guys, with the alternatives limited to eparation for war or for surrender. Little scussion of other choices occurs; those no could present an articulate case for a ird way are generally not welcomed by e mass media because they are "contro-rsial," and might hurt business. (Hu-anity's principal business these days is rvival, but most Americans have not yet ught more than a glimpse of that fact, d remain willing to have their more imitive members determine the limits of eir debate. Thus the police chief of a ew York town, approached by a group citizens wanting to distribute leaflets tside a theatre showing "On the Beach," structed them to get permission from the merican Legion.)

In England and West Germany and pan, all much closer to The Threat than e, the issues are debated hotly and con-nuously. Demonstrations against atomic eapons draw thousands of participants; e case for and against unilateral dis-armament is soberly debated in the edi-torial column of respected journals. Over here "unilateral disarmament" rarely ap-pears in the press except as a means of damning the fantasy-ridden pacifists or with an "of-course-nobody-wants" phrase to reassure the citizenry of the non-treason-ous nature of some halfway peace meeting. Demonstrations draw the usual core of faithful pacifists and sometimes a score or so of newcomers, but that is all.

The *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists,* since its start in 1945, has used as its sym-bol the hands of a clock pointing to a few minutes before midnight. The clock has now been set back a little, but the mildly promising political developments of the past months can be undone in a day, and will be undone if there is a failure at Geneva on the bomb-test issue. The con-viction grows that the democratic, peace-loving United States is not only the nation with the greatest potential ability to ac-celerate the drive toward peace, but the one that is doing least to realize its po-tential.

## THE ENEMY

Even many pacifists accept uncritically the popular image of the Soviets as hypo-critical in their talk of peace, devoted to the concept of world conquest by military means, more concerned with propaganda than accomplishment in the discussions of ending nuclear tests or beginning disarma-ment. A recent article by Hanson W. Bald-win,* military editor of *The New York Times,* suggests that some revisions of the image are overdue.

Mr. Baldwin is not a partisan of the Soviets, nor is he a pacifist. He is as con-cerned with "national security" as any general in the Pentagon, and more dis-posed to be gloomy than optimistic about plans for disarmament. His article is based on the history of the Geneva negotiations

* "Russia and Arms: A Dark Case History," in *The New York Times Magazine,* Feb. 14, 1960.

for a test ban, and attempts to assess Soviet attitudes and objectives with a view to scanning the possibilities for the future.

Soviet attitudes he defines in terms of "suspicious touchiness" that wants every "i" dotted and every "t" crossed, and a "new-found cockiness" based on a faith in Russia's military strength and a conviction that world public opinion supports the "Russian goal" of test cessation.

Soviet objectives, as Mr. Baldwin sees them, are, first, an agreement on the ending of nuclear tests, and, second, "serious attempts to reach some general arms control." As usual, there are reasons to believe that in these the Soviets are motivated by something less than the pure saintliness with which other Powers approach such matters.

For one thing, Mr. Baldwin speculates, an agreement on test cessation would be of external propaganda value to the Russians and internal political advantage to Mr. Khrushchev, since "the Russians first proposed it and . . . have consistently backed it." (The inference is that Western diplomats *never* think of either external propaganda or internal politics.)

Second, says Mr. Baldwin with what sounds a little like suspicious touchiness, test cessation and arms controls would enable the Russians to divert manpower and resources to "capital goods and consumer industries." Besides, since "Russia has all the megatons she needs to devastate the United States, why devise newer weapons?" Or, as a SANE ad put it in this country the other day, "Do we achieve supremacy when we are able to destroy an enemy fifty times over whereas the enemy can destroy us only forty-eight times over?"

But Western negotiators, acknowledges the military analyst, "also credit the Russians with a real concern about the possibility of nuclear war and believe they view a test cessation as a first step toward preventing such a war."

So the Russians, from all appearances, genuinely want a treaty banning nuclear tests and want also a start toward general disarmament, albeit on the best terms they can get. Are we sure we can say as much?

## LEGION

Perhaps we look to the wrong places for encouragement. We look to the White House and Congress and the editorial pages, and these are not the places that first echo the thin sound of the rising new wind. That we must hear elsewhere, in the small outcries of tortured souls rebelling against the rack of conformity on which they are stretched: in the record attendances being chalked up by the drastically anti-war "On the Beach," and the frequency with which pacifists handing out leaflets in front of the theaters are greeted with friendship instead of hostility; in the success of books and plays that raise the issue of conscience against the troubled tensions of the times; in—maybe especially—the declining power of such myopic monsters as the American Legion.

Time was when the Legion's voice was thunder in the land, and there are many who still do not realize that the curtain has gone up to show the thunderer as a quite ordinary fellow standing in the wings shaking a sheet of tin. The Legion's membership is dropping along with its authority; its voice repeats the old demands but the tones are shrill instead of strident, and too many listeners snicker behind their hands. A couple of months ago a Legion post that presumed to instruct a United States Senator where he might and might not speak got its come-uppance in a stinging reply from the Senator, and the newspapers were full of letters from correspondents openly rejoicing at its discomfiture.

Now comes a movie producer, the same Stanley Kramer who produced "On the Beach" and "The Defiant Ones," to take another swipe at the staggering giant. Kramer not only rejected the Legion's unsolicited criticism of his action in hiring "blacklisted" writers, but went so far as to lecture the Legion on Americanism. There can be no hurt worse than this, since, as everyone knows, the Legion owns the copyright on Americanism and long ago appointed itself as the ultimate judge of who has it and who hasn't. But here comes this upstart to say that the Legion's "intent is understandable but its methods are reprehensible, to say the least," and then to add:

"The American Legion is weighing a procedure in which, literally, the end justifies the means. This is as totally un-American as anything I can imagine."

It is a new wind rising, or perhaps an

one coming back: the sound of men ring to assert their right to be men, to nk creatively and independently, and to ect the tyranny of imposed opinion. In ime when the whole structure of society nands new and fearless ideas, there could few more hopeful signs for the cause peace.

## JRE

Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, doing business the old stand, took out after the Chris- n pacifists again the other day. They nt to be pure with their unilateral dis- nament, he said, and the West is divided tween those who want to be pure and ose who want to be responsible. The ponsible ones are those who are willing accept the guilt of having to maintain clear armaments as a "provisional source peace" and an alternative to Soviet anny.

Dr. Niebuhr is generally identified as one Protestantism's leading theologians and tough man to tangle with, but we think is overdoing this purity-responsibility siness. Few pacifists are motivated solely the desire to keep themselves uncon- minated by the business of mass murder, ough that certainly is a powerful motive d one not without sanction from Protes- ntism's original theologian. Pacifists gen- ally maintain that there is a power of the irit available to men who will trust it, d that this power is not irrelevant to e conflicts in which mortal men must ke responsibility. Unilateral disarma- ent, when it is advanced as a political olicy, is one part of a package that at- mpts to translate that power into politi- l, economic and social terms for the leviation of distress and the healing of nflict.

But few pacifists who advance such a roposal would argue that it carries within built-in guarantees of success. It might il. Communist tyranny might become a ality, and Christians might have to live nder a form of slavery again, as Chris- ans have lived for most of the two housand years of their faith. It is a calcu- ted risk, built upon a belief that love nd compassion have meaning, and that ithout them there will be no peace.

Now what of Dr. Niebuhr's "responsible" position of continuing the "balance of nuclear power"? Is the risk here greater or less? Has the balance of power idea worked so well in history that we can put confidence in it at a moment when one failure can literally destroy mankind? Has the history of the past ten years, in which we have staggered repeatedly back from the brink of nuclear war, demonstrated that we can put reliance on nuclear deterrence as even a "provisional" source of peace?

Those who must choose in the 1960s—and they are the American people—must choose between two calculated risks, proffered them by equally concerned and equally responsible men. One is that the best chance of peace lies with the continued dependence on preparations for nuclear holocaust, with all that it implies in terms of mounting tension, undependable alliances, de-emphasis on aid to underdeveloped nations, the rapid distribution of nuclear weapons among other nations, and the discouraging testimony of past history.

The other is that peace is more likely if we discard the weapons we do not dare to plan to use, challenge the rest of the world to do likewise, and turn our national attention to the business of helping men and women everywhere with the real problems of their lives: sickness and hunger and housing and employment and freedom.

The old Chesterton oversimplification is still oversimplified and still true: Christianity has not been tried and found wanting; it has never been tried.

## DOG-WASHERS . . .

The military brass may get a little anxious when a few citizens start protesting about germ warfare and guided missiles, but what really throws them into a tailspin is publicity about some of their own self-serving peccadillos. That happened last month when Rep. Frank Kowalski pulled an Air Force Training Manual from his sleeve and waved it under the startled noses of some Air Training Command officers.

The manual, called an "On-the-Job Training Package Program" for Air Force

steward specialists, included instructions for the stewards in "cooking, personal services, and chauffeuring" for a general. These went into considerable detail on such matters as cleaning the bathrooms daily, setting the table properly—"for tea tables you may use embroidered or hemstitched tea cloths"—mixing drinks, and washing the general's dog.

Understandably, the Congressman and some of the press had a field day. Rep. Melvin Price remarked gloomily on "what this does to those of us who fight for appropriations for adequate military manpower," while Rep. Frank Becker snorted that a Communist could not have written "a more morale-destroying document." The temperance people, of course, took off in singleminded full cry after the drink-mixing section, paced by the Methodist Board of Temperance's challenge of "the right of the military to thus weaken the bodies, minds and wills of our armed forces." The Air Force, in utter rout, announced that the manual had been rescinded, and the Department of Defense told the Congressmen it was promulgating a new regulation prohibiting the use of aides and stewards for anything other than the official duties of officers.

The impression given by the incident was of a sizable tempest in a somewhat dwarfish teapot. The military forces of any nation in peacetime are largely unproductive and parasitical, holding much of their officer corps by the simple process of making its members an elite, with special privileges and easy living at the expense of their subordinates and the tax-paying public. The over-eager author of the training manual was only reflecting the tactless details of a way of life in which thousands of commissioned officers, from lieutenants to generals, not only never had it so good but would be most unlikely to match it in a productive vocation.

As for the enlisted men, frequently draftees (or draft escapees) doggedly slugging out their time or refugees from a competitive society bucking for a comfortable, undemanding job and early retirement, washing the general's dog and setting the general's tea-table with embroidered tea cloths are far from the most demeaning of their experiences.

## CONTRIBUTORS IN THIS ISSUE

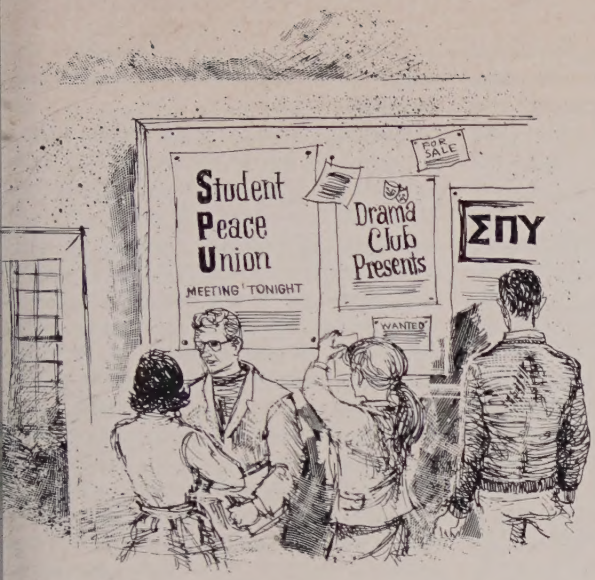
**Ken Calkins** is a staff member of the Chicago regional office of the American Friends Service Committee, secretary of the Student Peace Union, and a member of the FOR National Council. He was injured in 1958 when, as a participant in the pacifist demonstration against the ICBM base at Cheyenne, Wyoming, he attempted nonviolently to obstruct a truck from entering the base.

**John M. Swomley Jr.**, who has campaigned for peace for twenty years in various capacities, currently divides his time between his FOR duties and a new position as secretary of the Program for Disarmament, a jointly sponsored effort of peace agencies who cooperate in the Consultative Peace Council.

**Paul Carette** is a Roman Catholic priest and member of the French FOR (La Réconciliation). His article in this issue originally appeared in a special issue of *Cahiers de la Réconciliation* on "The Christian, the Gospel and War." The English translation was first published in the *Catholic Worker*.

**Allan Brick** is an English instructor at Dartmouth College and a member of the FOR National Council. His article, "Peace Moves on Campus," appeared in FELLOWSHIP, Sept. 1, 1959. He has also written for the Bulletin of the Association of University Professors and *The Nation*. His article in this issue is reprinted from *Assent*, a Dartmouth religious publication.

Among our book reviewers: **Gelston McNeil** is administrative secretary of the Overseas Friendship Center in Utica, N. Y., and chairman of the newly organized Crusade Against Poverty to aid the work of Danilo Dolci in Sicily. **Ann Morrisett** does publicity and promotion for the American Committee on Africa. **Ruth Best** is a Quaker housewife who was arrested last April for refusing to take shelter during a Civil Defense drill in Haverstraw, N. Y. All are FOR members. **Sid Lens** is a labor union official who has written many articles for FELLOWSHIP.




# The Student Peace Union

BY KEN CALKINS

N THE SEPTEMBER issue of FELLOWSHIP, Allan Brick wrote of the "momentous portunities" for pacifist organization on e college campuses. Today we find that ick's optimism has clearly been vindi-ed throughout the nation. Those of us o work for peace among students are ed today, for the first time in many rs, with more requests for help than we n possibly fill. The time has come for a dical organizational re-evaluation. We st find or construct a vehicle which both n act as a catalyst for continued growth of mpus peace activity and can provide the ntinuing imaginative leadership a stu-nt movement must have if it is going to more than a transitory affair.

The Student Peace Union was organized a first, rather tentative effort at develop-g such a vehicle. The rationale behind e SPU was first explored at a gathering a ar ago of students representing some ven campuses at a weekend seminar spon-red by the Chicago office of the Ameri-n Friends Service Committee. These stu-nts expressed a need for some sort of re-onal organization which would facilitate mmunication and cooperation among udents in the Midwest who were actively orking for peace.

In April this general discussion reached fruition in the formation of the Student ace Union. Largely under the leadership members of the University of Chicago tudents for Non-Violence," a mimeographed *SPU Bulletin* was published and sent out. The original mailing list was acquired largely through visits of AFSC Traveling Student Seminars to a number of midwestern schools.

A month of intense activity before the end of the school year followed, resulting in the enrollment of some 120 members on more than a dozen college campuses. Soapbox teams visited Lake Forest College, Northwestern University, Roosevelt University and the University of Chicago. Peace groups were formed by SPU members at the University of Illinois, Illinois Wesleyan University, and the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee. A working relationship was developed with the already active Student Peace Center at the University of Wisconsin in Madison. Other SPU-stimulated activities took place at George Williams College, Bethany Biblical Seminary, North Central College and Eastern Illinois University.

The high point of these activities was the publication by the SPU of 10,000 leaflets entitled "What Can You Do for World Peace." This leaflet espoused a five-point program of: 1.) serious negotiation for disarmament; 2.) building a stronger United Nations; 3.) increasing non-military foreign aid; 4.) investigation of nonviolent resistance as a means of national defense; and 5.) personal responsibility for building a just and peaceful world. The leaflet was deliberately worded somewhat cautiously in

order not to offend some of the non-pacifist members of the SPU, but was criticized only for not being radical enough. It was distributed on seven campuses. To our surprise, the University of Illinois' Students for World Peace, a group which we had taken to be one of our most conservative affiliates, undertook open civil disobedience in order to distribute 5,000 of these leaflets. Faced with anti-leafleting laws in Champaign-Urbana, the group decided to go ahead with their distribution. Some fifteen students openly flaunted the unconstitutional laws and succeeded in getting out most of the leaflets before the police decided to act and arrested three of their number. As is so often the case when police act to restrict freedom, the primary result was to insure excellent publicity for the group's activities. More than a hundred students and faculty attended a meeting sponsored by the group that evening.

### Signs of Growth

Encouraged by the dramatic results of last spring's activity, the core group of SPU determined to expand its scope this fall. The *Bulletin* came out in October in a new offset format and included articles of both opinion and fact concerning every facet of the peace movement. The mailing list rapidly increased as names of interested students were sent in by key contacts.

Financial support came from a small number of young working people and through an appeal to 25 known friends of the SPU. Forays were made to a number of campuses in an effort to reactivate already existing groups or to stimulate activity where none had existed before.

Most important, the SPU co-sponsored with the FOR a conference at which a formal constitutional structure for the organization was created. Though not an outstanding success in terms of the total number of participants, this conference was attended by representatives from 14 campuses and therefore provided an excellent opportunity for setting up the organizational basis the SPU so badly needed.

The structure which emerged combines the democracy and individual autonomy necessary in any widely spread, quick-growing organization with the effective centralized leadership capability whic makes increasing, well-coordinated activi possible.

The continuing central work of the SP is carried on by the chairman, the treasur and the heads of four standing committe Local SPU members and groups are able take part in decision making by sendi representatives to the Council meetin held every six weeks. Whenever any iss arises where substantial difference of opi ion exists, a poll is made of represent tives of all campuses where there are me bers. This insures that members on mo distant campuses will not be exploited the groups close to the Chicago area. Me bership is open to all teachers, students a young working people who are in agre ment with the general SPU statement purpose. Dues of $1 a year are not ma datory for those who cannot afford them.

Since the October conference, the SP has continued to expand its activities rapi ly. New groups have been formed on number of campuses. The mailing list h climbed past the 700 mark and continu to grow. A thousand copies of the month *SPU Bulletin* are regularly sold out so time before the next issue is ready and 15 copies of a satirical ad for "General Leth Engineering Enterprises" were sold out a few weeks. Several pamphlets written members will soon be published and di tributed by the SPU. Most significant, me tion of SPU activities in FELLOWSHIP a *The Nation* has led to a flood of reques for information and help from studen throughout the country. The response these articles has made it amply clear th there is today a real need for the develo ment of a student peace organization in t United States. It is becoming apparent th two major approaches to the problem building a student peace movement a now emerging. One, exemplified primari by Robert Pickus' work on the West Coa depends upon the development of a lar number of semi-independent campus pea centers which are given direction and co tinuity by their close working relationsh to the major national peace organizatio The other, characterized by the Stude Peace Union, envisions a primarily studen led and organized movement allowing f maximum local autonomy within a broa

unified federation of concerned groups
l individuals.

roponents of the peace center approach
nt out that only the well-established
ce organizations have the financial re-
rces to support a meaningful program
ongoing peace education. What they
lect to consider is that these organiza-
ns also have well-established patterns of
ught and action which are sometimes
appropriate for what some of us hope
l be a radically new sort of movement.
e Student Peace Union must find a way
overcome the very real problems pre-
ted by its inability to finance a salaried
f and the other luxuries of organiza-
nal overhead. The advantages in flexi-
ty that accrue to an independent, low-
rhead organization must, however, also
recognized.

n any case, we should not give up hope
solving the difficulties implied in low-
rhead peace education too easily. In-
d, if the peace movement is ever to have
telling effect on international affairs
t it *must have*, it is imperative that we
cover such solutions.

The Student Peace Union is making
gress in this direction. Part of the prob-
n has of course been solved by the in-
vement of students in much of the cen-
l work of the organization. Although this
ds to limit the work these students can
on their own campuses, it insures that
organization will remain close to stu-
nt needs and attitudes. Another way to
duce to a minimum the need for substan-
l financial assistance is to rely heavily
on the established peace organizations
speakers, materials and even direct staff
istance. By arranging to co-sponsor spe-
c events with these organizations, a stu-
nt group can often receive the enthusias-
support of paid peace educators.

## A Cadre of Volunteer Workers

There comes a time, however, when all
student volunteer help and financial
ortcuts are not enough to cope with the
eds of a vital, expanding organization.
idents are notoriously incapable of keep-
g up a sustained movement over any ex-
nded period of time without outside help.
ams, vacations and papers are the prin-
al foci of student life and all tend to
frustrate continued organizational commitment.

The alternative proposed by the Student Peace Union is to find dedicated young working people who are willing to devote all or most of their free time to working for peace among young people and students. What is sought is not a few people to give a "decent" proportion of their time to this work, but rather a core of enthusiastic souls who are willing to immerse themselves in campus peace education to the extent that they spend most of their waking hours performing the continuing tasks involved in the perpetuation and extension of the movement. Eventually our goal is to find young people who will plan to give two or more years of their lives to this kind of work—finding jobs, perhaps with the assistance of FOR members and other sympathizers, which will allow them the maximum possible free time for their peace work. Such individuals will be willing to live a relatively spartan existence. By cutting expenses to a minimum, they should be able to get along by working half or three-quarter time.

Such an arrangement will provide the continuity and stability of a well-financed, "established" organization, but will at the same time provide the independence and vitality we feel is so necessary to the building of a successful student movement. In any case, it will add a considerable number of enthusiastic workers to the peace movement at very little cost to the already sorely taxed financial resources available to the pacifist cause.

Further discussion of the relative merits of the approaches outlined here is likely to become largely academic. Until recently the college campus has been relatively untouched by effective peace education work. Now that "the campus rebels have found a cause," a vacuum has been created which must be filled. It may be filled in many different ways. It is the goal of the SPU to create a unity which will multiply the effect of what may become the spark of revolution in men's minds. The Student Peace Union has come a great distance in its year of existence; it still has far to go if it is to fulfill this grand purpose. Its success or failure will be the ultimate judge of the efficacy of our argument.

# UNILATERA AND UNIVERSA DISARMAMENT

BY JOHN M. SWOMLEY JR.

THE PEACE MOVEMENT has always placed disarmament in the forefront of its program. This arises out of the conviction not only that arms make wars possible but that competitive military establishments are a source of tension that causes or helps to cause war.

Many pacifists as well as non-pacifists in the peace movement have believed that the only realistic way to achieve disarmament is by agreement. No major power, they point out, is going to disarm by itself while its adversaries and weaker allies continue armed.

Those who hold to a unilateral disarmament position have come to it chiefly for three reasons: (1) They saw that negotiations for universal disarmament were not serious and were in fact a camouflage for an arms race. (2) They noted that their own nation always blamed the failure to achieve disarmament upon other nations and never accepted any responsibility itself. They asserted that this was a device to evade any responsibility for the arms race and rightly concluded that they must ask their nation not to wait until others did the right thing first. They urged their own nation to take the lead. (3) They also saw that in a revolutionary world situation, where the common people abhorred war and needed food, freedom and equality, mere talk of universal disarmament was an instrument of the status quo. Unilateral disarmament, on the other hand, fitted into the revolutiona trend and could be expected to elicit su port from people in every nation, includi those of our adversaries. Thus it did n seem to be a betrayal of one's own peop to advocate a program that would win su port throughout the world, dividing t people from their own rulers who might bent upon aggression.

The likelihood of winning non-pacifis to unilateral disarmament became re when, in the nuclear age, it became appa ent (1) that we could not use the weapo we had created without engaging in m tual suicide; and (2) that the mere poss sion of nuclear weapons made possible blunder or miscalculation that could jeo ardize both national and world securit If nuclear weapons no longer provide ev the illusion of security, why should no pacifists not also take, in the interests peace and security, a calculated risk th would be far less than the risk they ta by maintaining weapons?

The case for unilateral disarmamer however, was always based on the assum tion that if one great nation disarmed would lead to the disarmament of othe It was, therefore, called disarmament-b example in contrast to disarmament-b agreement. The only logical rationale f wanting your own nation disarmed whi wanting others to remain armed would the treasonable one of enhancing the pow

your nation's enemies so they could
h your own government.
ealistically, those of us who advocated
lateral disarmament knew that if a siz-
movement for it developed, it would
bably result in serious negotiations by
government for universal disarmament.
government is likely to disarm unilater-
even under pressure, if it can strike a
d bargain by getting other nations to
in disarming. Therefore, although we
nt it when we asked for unilateral dis-
ament, we also recognized that our ad-
cy of it was likely to result in pressing
own government to work for a com-
ely disarmed world.

### One Goal, Different Roads

he goal of "unilateralists" and "univer-
sts" has thus been the same. It is in the
hod and in the analysis of the situation
they differed. Now, however, a changed
ation results in a similar analysis. Prem-
Khrushchev and Selwyn Lloyd, British
eign Secretary, have proposed disarma-
nt down to internal police levels. Only
United States, of the Big Three, has
sed to make such a commitment. There
of course, powerful pressures within
U.S. that do not want any disarmament
even an end to nuclear tests. These in-
sts continue to place the responsibility
other nations by insisting that their pro-
als for disarmament are pure propa-
da.

f the USSR and Great Britain are not se-
s in their proposals, the only way to ex-
e them is to accept their proposals by be-
ning serious negotiations to achieve
m. If they are serious, then what is re-
red is a unilateral decision by our gov-
ment to proclaim the same goal and
e steps to achieve that goal.

or the first time, the situation is such
t unilateralists and universalists can
te and can find no real basis for not
ting unless they accept the analysis of
vested interests, that Khrushchev's pro-
al is mere propaganda and must not
n be explored.

he other possible basis for refusing to
te would be an assumption, growing out
previous experience, that disarmament
otiations will again be used as a device
avoiding disarmament. If after a real
trial this should become apparent then our analysis of the problem would also change. But Khrushchev gives every indication of not permitting this to happen without exposure. In the U.S. there is some evidence that disarmament is being seriously considered. Economists in and out of government have, for the first time, been talking openly about economic planning for peace. The AEC and the Pentagon also view disarmament as a serious possibility (or threat).

The problem now is to get acceptance of total disarmament as a real goal of national policy and to begin government economic and political planning based on this assumption. The evidence of government sincerity will involve at least these two measures: (1) the inclusion of Red China in disarmament discussions and (2) some government planning for an economy based on disarmament. Such action would make a great contribution toward further easing of world tensions and toward a change of climate in the U.S. Under these circumstances it would be difficult to use negotiations over inspection and control as a device for sabotaging disarmament. As A. J. Muste has suggested in discussing disarmament negotiations, "A 'first step' which leads toward a clearly defined 'last step' is a very different thing from a 'first step' which is actually a 'dead end.'"

### The Key to Foreign Policy

From a purely strategic point of view, the current partial relaxation of tensions internationally must require some progress toward disarmament if it is to continue. At least until after the Summit Conference in May, disarmament, in a broad sense, will be the key to all discussions of foreign policy. It is, therefore, the natural wedge for opening the door to all aspects of our peace work. It is the key to getting China into the UN, to disengagement in central Europe, to easing tensions with Russia, to peaceful competition in aiding the underdeveloped world, to a strengthened UN, to name only a few.

It provides opportunities to move people toward pacifism, since it gets its momentum from "a realistic evaluation of the catastrophe that threatens mankind." Moreover, some non-pacifists, especially of neo-ortho-

(Continued on page 36)

# nonviolent saints OF THE catholic church

BY ABBE PAUL CARETTE

Within the Catholic Church, the term "saint" is used in a sufficiently precise sense: it is applicable only to those men and women who, having lived exemplary lives on earth, lives devoted to the imitation of Jesus Christ, are declared to be among the number of the elect, and hence proper objects of our veneration and devotion. Such a declaration did not originally possess the character of juridical infallibility. It was more a matter of election by the *vox populi,* in accord with the adage, *lex orandi lex credeni,* the prayer of the faithful is a guide to their faith. In more recent times, the demonstration of the qualities of "heroic virtue" has been codified, and it now takes the form of a trial during which, as miracles are adduced in his support, the Servant of God is led to the successive stages of beatification and canonization.

Here we shall confine our discussion to those who are saints in this narrowly defined sense of the term; needless to say, we have no intention of denying sanctity to those whose names are not included on the official list.

There is a sense in which all the saints (even though a minority of them found themselves involved in military ventures) were nonviolent at least by intention—which is little enough, it is true. It is evident that their sanctity does not flow from their military prowess, but is recognized as existing *despite* such prowess. The religio grandeur of Joan of Arc is manifest abo all in her decision to obey God rather th civil or religious authorities: St. Louis ow his glory to his role as a peacemaker, rath than to his military enterprises (he pr ferred to abandon his possessions rath than wage war, as was also the case wi St. Edward the Confessor); St. Berna found fulfillment in his mission of rec ciliation rather than in his preaching of Crusade: St. Nicholas of Flue, who as youth had taken part in many skirmishes the Swiss cantons during the fifteenth c tury, later atoned for the sins of his you by a life of penitence in his hermitage, c secrating himself to God and to the ap tolate of peace.

It is not within our present scope to d cuss those who have confined themselves the preaching of nonviolence, whether writing or teaching. Obviously we do n intend to minimize the importance of t contributions to thought that have be made by those whose life circumstances d not always permit them to translate the into practice. We are purposely leaving one side Ambrose and Augustine, Clem the First and Basil the Great, Clement Alexandria and Cyprian, Cyril of Alexa ria and Gregory Nazianzen, John Chrys tom and Leo the Great, Athanasius a Gregory the Great. From the writings of these men, one could weave a garland

ts on nonviolence. Not to mention the lesiastical writers who have not been onized, such as Tertullian, Origen and tantius.

Let us observe finally that although we ll cite certain nonviolent figures among Catholic saints, they have not (except the case of martyrs) been canonized be- se of any single action or orientation, rather in view of their all-around per- tion.

### First Witness

One of the first well-known witnesses to martyred for refusing military service St. Maximilian of Thebaste, who was headed in 295, and whose feast is cele- ted on March 12. The Acts of the Mar- s contain a moving account of his inter- gation and execution at the age of twen- one.

When the proconsul Dion pressed him, ing, "Who put these ideas into your ad?" he answered boldly: "My own mind l God Who has called me." In this mag- icent rejoinder we can observe the pri- cy of a conscience that is determined to nain faithful to its sole Master.

His father, called in to rescue him from scaffold by persuading him to change mind, said: "He has the use of reason d is intelligent enough to know his own nd." In refusing the military insignia, ximilian said: "I am already marked h the insignia of Christ, my God."

"But there are Christian soldiers," in- ed the consul.

"They must know what is right for them. r my part, I am a Christian and must t do evil."

"What then is this evil that they do?"

"You yourself know very well. . . . Even I must depart from this life, my soul will e with Christ my Lord."

"You shall be punished for your pride d shall serve as a horrible example to hers."

"Thanks be to thee, O God!" Maximilian irst out joyfully.

When he was led to the scaffold, he said the crowd: "Dearly beloved, may the ord grant you equally magnificent owns."

We have narrated some of the principal atures of this trial, because such a strik- ing parallel could be drawn with the Christians of today who refuse compulsory military service.

Like Maximilian (and like Nereus and Achileus) Martin and Victrice refused military service on account of conscientious conviction, and not merely to avoid having to sacrifice to the emperor or the Roman gods. After being baptized, Martin, the future Bishop of Tours, left the army. This happened in 341, in the vicinity of Worms, on the eve of a battle. Martin left the ranks, refusing to accept his wages. "I am a soldier of Christ," he said. "I am no longer allowed to fight."

"It is fear of combat that has inspired you," said the emperor.

And Martin replied: "If anyone mistakes my faith for fear, I am willing to walk tomorrow unarmed before the enemy troops, in the name of the Lord Jesus." He was placed under arrest. On the following day—was it a sign?—the barbarians sued for peace and Martin was released.

Victrice had a similar encounter several years later. His father, a veteran soldier, had been obliged to enroll him in the Roman army at the age of seventeen for a twenty-year period. One day, during a parade, Victrice marched up to the commanding officer of the legion and said: "Free me from my oath; I am casting away these bloody weapons in order to take up the arms of peace in the service of Christ." The furious tribune had him whipped, St. Paulinus tells us, but he stood fast, entrusting himself to God.

Let us mention here another early Christian, St. Almachus, an Eastern monk who came to Rome to put a stop to the cruel and bloodthirsty pastimes of the circus. He was brandishing his crucifix in the arena when the crowd, disturbed in its pleasures, stoned him to death. The emperor published an edict forbidding gladiatorial combats, and Almachus was enrolled in the number of the martyrs.

Finally, let us cite from this early period St. Isidore Pelusiot (d. 434), who wrote in one of his letters: "Some declare you to be so insane . . . that you would lead that young man . . . to arms and to that vile, despicable and outstanding school of death, the army. . . . Rather let him who has use of reason give assiduous work to studies."

Apparently our forbears spoke a less circumspect and more direct language than we do.

### A Return to the Gospel

Eight centuries later, there appeared, not a great isolated figure, but the precursor and champion of a whole trend within the Church: St. Francis of Assisi. The Franciscan motto, *Pax et Bonum,* clearly shows the prime position he gave to concord, which is the fruit of love. Born in an age and a place of political rivalries and military encounters, Francis from his youth combined poverty and meekness in his life. He sought to imitate Christ and he was not mistaken in his choice of methods.

When Perugia and Assisi had a large-scale war, Francis flatly refused to participate in it and was the reconciler of the two contending cities.

The enormous original influence of the laymen who rallied to the ideal of the evangelical life propounded by Francis is well known. The Tertiaries—as the members of the Third Order were called—were forbidden to bear arms. We should reflect today on the meaning and import of such a collective attitude, which served as a powerful check to unbridled violence. Not only the Franciscan brotherhood and the Sisters of St. Clare, but the whole body of Tertiaries living in the world, were thus automatically withdrawn from combat.

It is worthy of note that the ecclesiastical authorities granted every member of the lay Franciscan order, down to the meanest vassal, the unqualified right to refuse all military service. Later, this policy was attenuated by Pope Nicholas V in order to cover the case of defensive war.

The famous episode of St. Francis' life, when he ventured, alone and unarmed, before the Sultan, was received by him "contrary to all expectation," and preached the gospel of peace to him, impelled G. K. Chesterton to speculate on the incommensurable consequences that would have followed a conversion of Islam, a conversion that might have been accomplished without military force, by missionaries who were willing to run the risk of martyrdom.

The glories of the Third Order of St. Francis are beyond counting. Let us cite just one example: St. Thomas More, chancellor of England and author of *Utopia,* declared himself ready to be tied in a sac and thrown into the Thames in order tha "at a time when most of the Christia princes are locked in mortal combat, the should find themselves once again in un versal peace."

### Two Heroes of Modern Times

In conclusion, let us recall to mind th characters of two priests, one French, th other German. The first has been canon ized: although the second has not, withou pretending to anticipate with certainty th judgment of the Church, we shall take th liberty of linking his name with those o some illustrious predecessors.

St. Jean-Marie Vianney, better known a the Curé of Ars, was a deserter from co scription in Napoleon's time, as Fathe Franz Reinisch was under Hitler. Fathe Reinisch was beheaded; the Curé got o with a severe scare when he was forced t hide in the hay from his armed pursuers Each of them, under very different circum stances (the Curé almost unwittingl joined the mass of deserters of his time Father Reinisch deliberately stood against the general current by opposing the war chose to resist tyranny, especially the brutal and totalitarian methods of conscription How many crimes and enormities might have gone uncommitted if there had been a widespread refusal to participate in the last war!

André Thérive has written excellently about the Curé of Ars: "For the villagers of a hundred and twenty years ago, military service appeared as the principal form of tyranny. It evoked disgust rather than fear since at that time we had not yet accustomed ourselves to becoming soldier-citizens and being enslaved by the friends of the people in the name of the people. The conscription under the Emperor was particularly detested. That is why the young Vianney, an out-and-out draft dodger, or, more precisely, a deserter, was held in great esteem by his parents and his contemporaries. By his offense he avoided having to fight in Spain, where the armed monk might have killed him as a pagan!

"Pious biographers have felt constrained to find a thousand and one extenuating circumstances for his illegal conduct. Indeed

ppears that the conscript Vianney may e fallen ill after having barely tasted of joys of barracks life, and after a halt, nd himself unable to join his regiment, s becoming a deserter technically be- e he became one by conviction. But at is certain is that he, like many others, k flight, and crossed the Saône. He was comed and concealed by the villagers of ës, where he performed the duties of a or. He remained at Noës, adored by the yor and the townspeople, until his ther substituted for him to appease loch and he was able to return to a nor- l existence.

He had a delicate conscience and used desribe himself as an old deserter. But, e certain classical heroes, he believed t the natural law supersedes human laws. an hear the protests from the faithful vants of the goddess of France. Where uld these anarchic principles lead us? , well, the exception cannot be erected o a principle. Without having read nt, M. Vianney knew this very well; he s simply following the tradition which otects clerics from having to shed blood, d, more simply, he was living in an age en the power of the state was not yet garded as absolute or divine, but rather perverse and diabolical when revolt uld still mean liberty and not disorder. human affairs it is hard (and perhaps ngerous) to have to admit that success cides right; if general rebellion over- mes this or that form of social slavery, no longer think of calling it rebellion." As for Father Reinisch, to whose mem- y a veritable cult is attached, is he not in the first rank of those thousands of Germans and Austrians who died in prisons and concentration camps from the same motives?

He was born on February 1, 1903, in Feldkirch, Austria. When he was called up by the Wehrmacht in March of 1941, he purposely showed up a day late and refused to take the oath of allegiance, being opposed to both dissimulation and mental reservation.

"His superiors tried to get him to go back on his decision," Father Pierre Lorson, S.J. wrote, "appealing even to the virtue of holy obedience. They presented arguments designed to prove that he had the right to go through the motions of pledging exterior fidelity. They told him that he would be put in the medical corps and hence would not have to shed blood. They reminded him of the young people of Germany, for whom he had done so much, and who were still in need of him. They got nowhere. Like Joan of Arc, the young priest remained faithful to the interior voice of his conscience. He said simply: 'I believe that it is God's desire and His will that I voluntarily accept death as a gift and as a duty.' "

On the morning of August 21, 1942, he and six comrades, four of whom were Catholics, had their heads chopped off.

When we are scorched by the flame emitted by these epic heroes so close to our own time, and realize that it is the same flame that has burned steadily and brilliantly since the first centuries of Christianity, who would dare deny that the purest witnesses of today are contributing to it?

*Translated from the French by Martin J. Corbin*

## *SPACE MISSILE*

*No god was ever so precisely wrought*
*of hammered silver or of beaten gold,*
*No god was ever so intensely sought*
*For hint of what the furthest heavens hold*

*As this white idol, conjured out of skill*
*And time and treasure—all that can be had.*
*No god reigned more serenely on a hill,*
*Or crashed more swiftly from his launching pad.*

—Edith Lovejoy Pierce

# The Sermon on the Mount for Today

BY ALLAN BRICK

JESUS' WORDS, "Love your enemies" and "You . . . must be perfect," form the essence[1] of the Sermon on the Mount and entail the most disturbing ethical doctrine of the New Testament. They force a disciple perpetually to consider what relation the love he should feel has to his actions towards others; today they force him to consider the morality of his attitude to the weapons of mass destruction with which we resist our "enemies." The disciple's considered response should still be pacifism—"Do not resist one who is evil"—not a rigid fanaticism which predetermines automatic behavior, but rather the will to receive freely the continuing revelation from behind Jesus' words and the courage to apply it in particular situations.

Although the "Sermon on the Mount" was not actually preached by the rabbi Jesus to a specific assemblage on a specific mountainside, the episode as we have it is nonetheless a valid dramatization of the image of Jesus as lawgiver which dominated first-century Christians. Historically, the Sermon was a compilation, by a source common to Matthew and Luke, of different groups of utterances which originally "were addressed to different hearers and, consequently, were spoken at different occasions";[2] but for the early Christians, who believed it and endeavored to follow it as law, the unified Sermon was truly spoken by the historical Jesus who was now absorbed into the immanent Christ. Regardless of the original intent behind, and the original social context of, "Do not resist one who is evil," the dramatization in both Gospels presents the entire Sermon as law and not only for "apostles" but also for a large group of "disciples" and "great multitudes" who had followed Jesus to the "mount." (Matthew 7:28-29, says, "When Jesus had ended these sayings, the people were astonished at his doctrine: For he taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes." See also Luke 6:13, 17.

Still, we would be irresponsible to adopt a certain mode of belief and behavior just because "early Christians" apparently did so—just as they would have been irresponsible to arrive at their mode simply by following the word of some revered old man or old document as to what the rabbi Jesus had actually taught fifty years before. Therefore we should stand receptive to a new revelation—not "new" in the sense of being necessarily different from that received by the early Christians, but new in the sense of speaking immediately to our modern condition. Christian pacifism which does not so stand is correctly branded "literalism" or "idolatry." Setting up a given biblical text, such as "Do not resist [whatever 'resist' means] one who is evil," perhaps with some rigidly limiting interpretation of that text, as the absolute end-object of devotion, entails fanaticism

1 See Matthew 5:38-48 and Luke 6:27-36

2 Martin Dibelius, *The Sermon on the Mount* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940), p. 15

her than living faith; for whenever a eliever" substitutes an expressed symbol the inexpressible ultimate which lives hind it, faith is dead. A man who autoatically refuses to go to war, simply beuse his Bible or his Church tells him not may be as amoral as a man who goes to r simply because his country and perps his Bible and his Church tell him he ust. There is no morality without moral eedom.

### "Soft Utopianism"

It is equally irresponsible to make our nderstanding of "Do not resist . . . " dend upon specific visions of a perfect orld, and, as a result, to overlook the exential weaknesses of man in society. einhold Niebuhr did well to take up the dgels against the "soft utopianism" of e 'thirties, which taught that devoted adrence by society to the ethics of the Serpn on the Mount would enable the nurch and social science to remove the hal shackles from mankind, thus bringg about a time of peace and plenty. Niehr protested the doctrine that practicg Christian ethics necessarily achieved orldly goals, for he knew, as every honst moralist knows, that the opposite is ore nearly the case. And it was with a rge measure of truth (especially when one nsiders the emphasis he was countering) at Niebuhr defined man as a worldund creature with motives and actions ever free of the taint of sin. With the ncentration-camp atrocities and mass pulation bombings of World War II in ind, it became impossible for any thinkg Christian, least of all any of the few maining Christian pacifists, to ignore iebuhr's point. "Do not resist one who evil" and "Love your enemies" now learly involved not an imminent utopia ut the probability—no, the certainty—of he Cross; insofar as the Christian expressed ure love, to that degree would he surely uffer obloquy, torture and death—he ould save his life spiritually only through is commitment to sacrifice it physically.

But the despair of the 'forties and the Cold War of the 'fifties made man feel—nd Niebuhrian ethics articulate the feelng—that no mere human could approxiate in the sinful world the perfect love for all mankind shown by Christ on the Cross. Today for very many Christians Jesus is already transformed into the divine Christ (the impossible ideal) at the point when he makes his sacrificial decision to enter Jerusalem. Whereas Niebuhrism[3] grants the possibility of sinful man approximating an expression of selfless love toward persons "to whom he is bound by organic and physical relationship," it does not grant the possibility of such expression toward "men" in any collective sense. From this point of view it is impossible to believe that Jesus—acting as a man—achieved just such a complete expression, and by his Crucifixion proved that perfect love does touch upon the limits of human possibility. But this idealism is the essence of Christian faith. Today one cannot but feel that Christian theology, rather than derive its ethics from the fact of man's sinful existence, should derive its ethics from the fact of God's redemption:[4] the fact that man is a being who, however "fallen," is enabled by divine grace to aspire to perfection.

Strange to say, the interpretation of Jesus' ethic that speaks most essentially to a Christian's condition in the twentieth century is still that suggested by Jewish theologian Martin Buber, who of course understands Jesus as no more than a great human prophet. In his classic *I and Thou,* Buber has shown that the selfless love felt by one person for another bears a necessary extension to a love felt for *all* persons:

> Love is responsibility of an *I* for a *Thou.* In this lies the likeness . . . of all who love, from the smallest to the greatest and from the blessedly protected man, whose life is rounded in that of a loved being, to him who is all his life nailed to the cross of the world, and who ventures to bring himself to the dreadful point—to love *all men.*[5]

Without such an idealism moral responsibility of man for man—in this world—disappears and churchmen fall into the Niebuhrian desperation of maintaining that certain worldly goals, selected by the Christian as *least* evil among all the rela-

3 See Reinhold Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), pp. 3, 71-76

4 Mennonite theologian John Yoder expounds this charge against Niebuhrian theology in "Reinhold Niebuhr and Christian Pacifism," *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* XXIX (April 1955), 101 ff.

5 Martin Buber, *I and Thou,* trans. by Ronald G. Smith (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1937), p. 15

tively evil worldly goals, must be striven for by relatively evil worldly means. They maintain that the Christian is obligated to strive for a given political goal (America and the "free world," for example) because it is the least evil among the available political possibilities, and that he is obligated to employ worldly, tainted—and therefore violent—means.[6] Thus Niebuhr, who justly condemns as idolatrous the materialism of "soft utopians," becomes himself idolatrous in believing that a particular political community must be "defended" at the expense of another (relatively evil) community, and, one might add, at the expense of all mankind. So adamant is Niebuhr's materialism in this regard that the Christian must submit to the torturous double-think of wanting his nation to develop nuclear weapons that exist only for potential use against millions of people. Niebuhr himself is tortured, and thus becomes the more dangerous as a leader; for, even as he admits the inconceivably gross immorality of planning a "defense" that would entail mass murder, he clings irrationally to his "responsibility" for a particular political state:

> . . . It is argued rightly that if we use these instruments we will annihilate ourselves not only physically but morally. If the bomb were ever used, I would hope it would kill me, because the moral situation would be something I could never contemplate. At the same time you cannot disavow its use absolutely prematurely without bowing yourself out of responsibility for the whole generation. That is the character of our moral dilemma.[7]

Thus Niebuhr's ethical pragmatism itself becomes absurd—in desiring to evade the moral consequences of a situation he himself is helping to establish. Thus political commitment shuts out a higher reality: that "nations," even relatively evil ones, consist of people who deserve to live—so many "thou's" to whom even "free society" as a power structure should be subordinate. To admit moral paralysis in the face of a "dilemma" is to admit existential isolation from the presence of essential faith.

### Barth's Move Toward Pacifism

But the continuing revelation behind "Do not resist one who is evil" is present even today, though largely invisible to American churchmen. It may be found in the developing views of Swiss theologian Karl Barth, who, though never before a Christian pacifist, now contends that, since modern war is nuclear war, moral men should consider refusing to serve in modern armies.[8] Barth's position on Christian nonresistance is explained in his recent letter to an East German churchman who had written him about the possibility of Christians resisting the evil communist government. Suggesting that sin and evil are not restrictable to men of the communist government, and that there are for the Church inimical elements in all power states (including the American), Barth says there is only one sound basis on which Christians may live with these alleged enemies of Christ "who know not what they do": "to stand and bear witness to them of the Lord who died and arose for them too. To do otherwise would be to become an unbeliever, atheist and 'enemy of Christ' yourself." Recalling Christian revelation to believers suffering within the totalitarian state, Barth concludes:

> This means then that you will scrupulously avoid countering and counteracting the powers that be on the level they have unhappily chosen, that you will not oppose their gross inhumanity and atheism with a delicate inhumanity and atheism. . . . The church cannot, dare not follow the rule of an eye for an eye. In the very attempt to do so she

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 36)

6 In 1932 (see *Moral Man and Immoral Society*, pp. 241-253) Niebuhr made it clear that the methods of nonviolent resistance developed by Gandhi, while coercive and therefore *relatively* violent, were morally far preferable to methods of direct physical violence. Speculating as to whether Gandhian techniques should be used by the American Negro in his efforts for civil rights, Niebuhr seemed to prophesy the amazing achievements of Negro leader Martin Luther King in the present decade (see King's *Stride Toward Freedom*). It is strange, therefore, that Niebuhr has since then made no effort to see nonviolent resistance as a possible power method for national defense, far preferable to nuclear "deterrents."

7 Reinhold Niebuhr, as quoted by Walter Millis and John Courtney Murray, *Foreign Policy and the Free Society* (New York: Fund for the Republic, 1958), p. 67

8 See "Karl Barth Says No to Nuclear Weapons," FELLOWSHIP, May 1, 1959

**PEACE INFORMATION EDITION →**

The following four pages (on tinted paper at right) comprise the Peace Information Edition of **Fellowship**, published on the 1st and 15th of every month. Subscribers receive three issues of this Edition separately between issues of the 36-page bimonthly edition.

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PEACE INFORMATION EDITION

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## SUCCESS OF TEST-BAN NEGOTIATIONS KEY TO DISARMAMENT HOPES

Success or failure of efforts by American, British and Russian negotia- s to reach agreement on a treaty banning nuclear weapons tests is becoming re sharply defined as the crucial test of whether there can be hope for more -reaching disarmament measures. Simultaneously, some American newspaper ders are being made uneasily aware of the existence in their own government powerful forces that simply do not want the negotiations to be successful.

The February 19 issue of *Disarma- nt News*, mimeographed organ of the perative disarmament effort of Ameri- n peace groups, charges bluntly that small group of Atomic Energy Com- ssion members and scientists, aided some elements in the Pentagon, have ne everything they could to prevent agreement at Geneva." Documenta- n that follows underlines the way in ich problems of detection have been gnified, while counter-arguments re been classified or otherwise with- d from public knowledge. Typical of s is the withholding from the press of report of the Berkner Committee, pointed by the President to check on C claims that underground tests of atively small nuclear weapons might impossible to detect. The Berkner ort disclosed the possibility of per- ting the detection system to reveal losions down to less than one kilo- strength.

The *Washington Post* published a ry February 4 reviewing the three- wer scientific conference on test- ection methods, held in Geneva from vember 25 to December 18. It repor- that the American delegation had isted on publishing its own report that conference in the face of both tish and Soviet objections. The other delegations felt that to publicize areas of disagreement at that time uld prejudice the chances of working differences later and even reduce possibility of reconvening at all.

### *Fall-Out Draft*

*New York's Governor Nelson Rockefeller, until recently a prominent contender for the Republican Presidential nomination, is seeking legislation making it mandatory for all New Yorkers to construct "fall-out shelters" attached to their homes. Governor Rockefeller's move followed on the report of a committee he had appointed, urging such a program. The committee's report estimated that an adequate shelter could be built on a "do-it-yourself" basis for between $50 and $100.*

*Though the* New York Times *supported the plan editorially, other critics ridiculed the plans for a cramped hole dug out from a basement as inadequate and unrealistic. Reports from Albany indicated almost no support for the program, particularly with mandatory features, from state legislators.*

They urged that no report should be made until the problems could be further explored and a joint report issued. The transcript of the conference reveals that Dr. Federov, head of the Soviet delegation, said of the Americans' insistence on making a unilateral

*(Continued on next page)*

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## Test-Ban Negotiations *(cont'd)*

report and then going home: "I think such action is aimed at undermining our deliberations because, just as soon as some partial agreement came into sight, just as soon as we got to that agreement, immediately, the United States delegation has taken steps to ruin it." He added that if the Americans persisted in their position, the Soviet delegation would of course also have to make a report "and will also report on our view of the action that you are taking."

The *Post* reporter concludes: "Much has been made of the 'political' charges by the Soviets in (their) report. In context, the Soviet statements assume a slightly different cast."

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## Write Woolworth's, CORE Urges

"All people of goodwill" were urged last month to write the F. W. Woolworth Company to express support for integrated lunch counters. The plea was made by the National Action Committee of the Congress of Racial Equality, meeting in New York, in support of widespread demonstrations by Southern Negro students to bring about integrated eating facilities in North and South Carolina, Virginia, Florida and Tennessee. CORE, which has been seeking negotiation between the two conflicting groups has made available its field staff to help demonstrating students utilize nonviolent techniques.

A typical demonstration occurred at a Woolworth store in Hampton, Virginia, where a group of Negro students from Hampton Institute sat down in an area designated for whites. Their presence caused discontinuance of lunch-counter service and the prompt shut-down of the store. Efforts by student teams in other states have resulted in similar lunch-counter and store shut-downs. Arrests of some groups has also occurred and antagonism from white segregationists has led to street fights, in a few instances.

Taking up the cause, FOR member Rev. Donald Harrington, minister of the Community Church of New York, petitioned his congregation not to patronize the S. H. Kress and Woolworth chains.

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## King Arrested

At the request of Alabama authorities, FOR member Martin Luther King Jr. was arrested last month following charges that he perjured himself concerning the use of funds belonging to the Montgomery Improvement Association. King, a leader of the Association, has been indirectly accused of embezzling money to buy an $85,000 home.

King stated that he owned no property except a 1954 automobile and had no plans for building or buying a house.

**Happy Birthday to Us!**

The BIG event is the celebration of the 75th birthdays of A.J. Muste and John Nevin Sayre on Thursday evening, April 21.

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FOR, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

# NEWS from the peace front

Improvement of Hindu refugee conons in West Bengal, India, will be object of a five-year program sponed by Church World Service, follow- recommendations made by FOR mem- Dean Herbert Stroup of Brooklyn lege. Stroup and a team of experts, just finished a five-week study Calcutta, suggested that project oya" (Bengali for "mercy") include ational training, education, medi- and welfare units.

* * *

Bills banning capital punishment in nada have been introduced in both uses of Parliament in that country, h strong bipartisan support. Grow- awareness that the "death penalty not a deterrent to capital crimes" well as the near sentencing of a year-old boy to his death by hang-, were critical factors influencing legislation.

Up till now 40 foreign nations and states in the U.S. have abolished pital punishment.

* * *

Modification of Reserve Officers ining Program in colleges and unisities permitting advanced ROTC dents to take 20% of their military truction courses in academic subts such as science, psychology, itical science, etc., was made last nth by the Defense Department. The ange will be effective in the 1960-61 nool year.

The Army also announced that it trongly favors" continuance of the gram on a "compulsory basis," alugh this aspect may be left up to discretion of the institution.

Since 1959 opposition to enforced TC by students and faculty has suceded in making the course voluntary eight universities.

* * *

A resolution urging the U.S. to make armament its "top commitment" was de last month by the Board of World ace of the California-Nevada Conference of the Methodist Church meeting in San Francisco. Deploring the "immoral race in developing murderous fission and fusion death weapons," the measure asked that tests of such devices not be resumed.

It also asked for adoption of a disarmament resolution to match the recent Soviet troop reduction announcement.

* * *

A letter urging President Eisenhower "to seek an immediate agreement to ban all nuclear tests" including small underground explosions, was sent to him last month by 38 prominent citizens. Among the signers were Eleanor Roosevelt, Norman Thomas, Reinhold Niebuhr and FOR members Martin Luther King Jr., Nels F. S. Ferre and Harry Emerson Fosdick.

The group called upon the President to "avoid demands for such a flawlessly reliable agreement that agreement itself becomes impossible." They also stressed the need for a joint British-Russian-American "study over a two-year period of methods for detecting low range explosions."

The message was initiated by FOR co-secretary John M. Swomley Jr. in his capacity as secretary of the jointly sponsored Program for Disarmament.

* * *

Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tenn., will continue to run its adult interracial workshop program despite a state court ruling last month revoking the non-profit, general welfare charter of the school. The judge has also appointed a receiver to dispose of the institution's property.

ROTC by students and faculty has succeeded in making the course voluntary at eight universities.

* * *

A "certain calculated risk" is involved in storing deadly nerve gas

*(Continued on next page)*

**CHANGE OF ADDRESS:** Please allow 4 weeks—supply both old and new address.

above ground at the Rocky Mountain Arsenal in Colorado, according to Col. George Allen, commander of the installation. Col. Allen said last month, however, that the base was ready to cope with any emergency.

Rep. Byron Johnson, FOR member who recently exposed seepage of the arsenal's waste products into the Denver water supply a few miles away, has revealed that the installation houses enough nerve gas "to kill every man, woman and child in the world."

## LIT NOTES

The February 1960 issue of *Social Progress* contains 14 articles on the subject of racial intermarriage. Included are the views of Negro and White Christians on the miscegenation issue. Copies may be obtained at 25¢ each from the Department of Social Education and Action, United Presbyterian Church, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

* * *

IFOR Chairman Dr. Howard Schomer is the author of a leading article, "Christian Nonviolence in the Nuclear Age" in the December 1959 issue of *Social Action*. The magazine, published monthly by the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ, sells for 25¢ a copy. Write to: 289 Park Ave. S., New York 10, N. Y.

## Congressman Proposes Youth Corps For "Moral Equivalent of War"

A bill authorizing study of a "Point Four Youth Corps" as an alternative to military service, has been filed in Congress by Rep. Henry Reuss of Wisconsin. The draft-pay, draft-duration program would be open to qualified young men who choose a technical assistance job in some underdeveloped country rather than military service. A rigorous three-month training would precede actual work in the field, comparable in its way to Army basic training.

Praise for the bill as one of the "best ideas yet devised for the competitive coexistence era" was expressed in the *Christian Science Monitor* editorial for Jan. 20. Such a program, the article pointed out, "would help show the emerging peoples in a personal way the American altruism that now is too often lost amidst dollar signs."

## West Coast FOR Conference Changes

The FOR conference at Lake Tahoe, which formerly had been set for the latter part of July and the first week in August, has now been scheduled for July 1-4, 8-10, 15-17 in Seattle, San Francisco-Berkeley, and Los Angeles respectively. Details of the conference will be made available in a future issue.

## Quote Unquote

*"Nine Negro women die in childbirth in the South to every one white woman who dies in childbirth. That is what segregation means....It means death.... Don't let them kid you about the social classes. The Negro is not intruding when he moves to a better neighborhood. He is escaping: he is escaping from death."* --Harry Golden, speaking at Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tennessee

*"Jesus told Christians to be the light of the world, but he did not mean they were to be the tail light."* --Edwin T. Dahlberg, President, National Council of Churches

*"I have already given two cousins to the war, and I stand ready to sacrifice my wife's brother."* --Artemus Ward, 1834-1867

# A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY
## *of notable books for pacifists*

The following compilation is the Select List, taken from the *Bibliography of Books on War, Pacifism, Nonviolence and Related Studies* published in mimeograph by the Fellowship Reconciliation (price 25c). The *Bibliography* contains, in all, some 500 books and pamphlets dealing with various aspects of pacifist concern, the main categories of which are reflected also in the following pages, in which are listed 51 books considered to be of prime importance by a minimum of six members of the Bibliography Committee whose names appear below. In the case of books that are out of print, a minimum of eight recommendations has been required for this Select List. Many of the books on the list are recommended by from ten to sixteen people.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY COMMITTEE

Roland H. Bainton
Richard A. Chartier
Franklin Cogswell
Hermit Eby
Harrop A. Freeman
Roy Finch
George Miles Gibson
Richard B. Gregg
Georgia Harkness
Guy F. Hershberger
Paul L. Holmer
Allan A. Hunter
Albert E. Myers
John Oliver Nelson
William L. Neumann
Clarence E. Pickett
Culbert G. Rutenber
John Nevin Sayre
Charles C. Walker
George Willoughby
Roland E. Wolseley
John Howard Yoder

Thanks are due not only to the above-named persons but also to a number of others whose participation in the project was of considerable value. The compiler wishes to express particular appreciation for the recommendations of Dr. Howard Thurman and Dr. Kenneth Scott Latourette in their areas of special competence, and to thank all the FOR staff members who assisted in the routine work without which this project could not have come to fruition.

*—compiled and annotated by*
William Robert Miller

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e: Numerals in brackets at left indicate ass mark of the Dewey Decimal System, nd "o. p." means "out-of-print."

### The living of the pacifist life

tain, Vera: *Humiliation With Honor* N. Y.: Fellowship 1943 o.p.) 108 pp.
British mother's wartime letters to her n in the United States, reaffirming her icifist faith in terms understandable to 15-year-old.

, George: *Journal* (N. Y.: Dutton 1924) 34 pp. (Other editions also in print.)
The autobiography of the founder of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers).

Gandhi, Mohandas K.: *Autobiography* ("The Story of My Experiments With Truth") (Boston: Beacon 1947) 640 pp.
A self-portrait of the Indian leader which reveals the relationship between personal commitment and social action in his life.

Hassler, Alfred: *Diary of a Self-Made Convict* (Nyack, N. Y.: Fellowship 1958) 182 pp.
The day-by-day account of a pacifist editor's imprisonment as a conscientious objector in World War II.

Jack, Homer A., ed.: *The Gandhi Reader* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana Univ. 1956) 532 pp.
A compact chronicle of the life and teachings of Mohandas K. Gandhi, comprising articles by many writers including Bhave, Holmes, Nehru, Rolland, Tagore and Gandhi himself.

Pickett, Clarence E.: *For More Than Bread* (Boston: Little, Brown 1953) 433 pp.
A history of the American Friends Service Committee and its redemptive work, written by its executive secretary emeritus.

Woolman, John: *Journal and Other Writings* (N. Y.: Dutton 1952) 268 pp.
Spiritual depth and active social concern are closely related in the writings of this Quaker saint who was a progenitor of the anti-slavery movement in colonial America.

### [. .] The psychology and sociology of active love

[157] Fromm, Erich: *The Art of Loving* (N. Y.: Harper 1957) 133 pp.
A psychoanalytic study of parental, fraternal, sexual and divine love. The author sees in mature, self-affirming and self-giving love "the only satisfactory answer to the problem of human existence."

[131.341] Menninger, Karl & Jeanetta L.: *Love Against Hate* (N. Y.: Harcourt, Brace 1959) 311 pp.
A psychological study of man's basic conflicts.

[171.8] Sorokin, Pitirim A.: *Altruistic Love* (Boston: Beacon 1950 o.p.) 353 pp.
A sociological analysis of five hundred persons honored as "good neighbors."

[171.8] Sorokin, Pitirim A.: *The Ways and Power of Love* (Boston: Beacon 1954) 552 pp.
A sociological study of types, factors and techniques of moral transformation.

### [172.4] Practical pacifism and nonviolence

Curti, Merle Eugene: *Peace or War: The American Struggle 1636-1936* (N. Y.: Norton 1936 o.p.) 374 pp.
A highly documented social history of anti-war movements, covering three centuries of United States history, with detailed emphasis on the period after 1860.

Diwakar, R. R.: *Satyagraha* (Chica
Regnery 1948 o.p.) 108 pp.
A concise, systematic outline of the
gin, practice and prospects of non
lence, by a disciple of Gandhi.

Gandhi, Mohandas K.: *Satyagraha* (Ahm
dabad, India: Navajivan 1951) 406 pp
A collection of Gandhi's writings on n
violence.

Gregg, Richard B.: *The Power of Non
lence* (Nyack, N. Y.: Fellowship 19
192 pp.
A study and exposition of the method
nonviolent resistance, emphasizing
chological factors. Includes instructi
for training and examples of the use
nonviolent techniques in recent hist
in Europe, Asia and the U. S.

Huxley, Aldous: *An Encyclopaedia
Pacifism* (N. Y.: Harper 1937 o.p.)
pp.
A series of brief essays on aspects of w
militarism, munitions and the pac
answer. While much of the material
tied to issues that are now dead, mu
else remains that is pertinent today.

James, William: "The Moral Equivalent
War" in *Memories and Studies* (N.
Longmans, Green 1911 o.p.);
abridged, in H. S. Commager, ed., *Le
Ideas in America* (N. Y.: Harper 195
A proposal to harness men's aggres
impulses to constructive, peaceful p
poses.

King, Martin Luther Jr.: *Stride To
Freedom* (N. Y. Harper 1958) 230 pp
An authoritative account of the Christ
nonviolent campaign by which Negr
in Montgomery, Alabama, ended se
gated seating on buses in 1957.

King-Hall, Stephen: *Defense in the Nuc
Age* (Nyack, N. Y.: Fellowship 1959)
pp.
From a non-pacifist perspective, a Bri
naval officer discusses the relation of
fare and politics and, in the light of
nuclear weapons stalemate, proposes n
violent resistance as a substitute for th
weapons.

Lonsdale, Kathleen: *Is Peace Possib
(Harmondsworth, England: Peng
1957) 127 pp.
A scientist discusses problems of pe
freedom and justice in an era of expa
ing world population and technical
velopment.

Muste, A. J.: *Nonviolence in an Aggres
World* (N. Y.: Harper 1940 o.p.) 211
A discussion of the relevance of non

nce to the political and economic situa-
on of the United States before World
Var II.

buhr, Reinhold: *Moral Man and Im-
oral Society* (N. Y.: Scribners 1932) 284
p.

discussion of the dilemma of an abso-
te Christian ethic of love in a world
relativities, written when the author
as a leading figure in the Fellowship of
econciliation.

dharani, Krishnalal: *War Without Vio-
nce* (N. Y.: Harcourt, Brace 1939 o.p.)
51 pp.

participant in Gandhi's satyagraha
mpaigns describes and discusses these
nd other Gandhian programs.

## Resources in philosophy and psychology

3] Fromm, Erich: *The Sane Society*
N. Y.: Rinehart 1955) 370 pp.

psychoanalyst diagnoses the "cultural
euroses" of our times and points the
ay to a society in which human love
nd creativity can flourish.

4] Huxley, Aldous: *Ends and Means*
N. Y.: Harper 1937) 307 pp.

study of ethics that finds in the Ve-
anta doctrine of non-attachment a solu-
on to the problems of war, poverty and
ust.

4] Thoreau, Henry Davcid: "Civil Dis-
bedience," in *Walden and Other Writ-
ngs* (N. Y.: Modern Library 1950) 357
p. (also other editions)

n essay that was influential in Gandhi's
nought and action, avowing the primacy
f moral judgment—and action based on
—over the prerogatives of the state.

## 2] The religious wellsprings of Christian pacifism

ré, Nels F. S.: *Christ and the Christian*
N. Y.: Harper 1957) 253 pp.

Christology rooted in the Nicene Creed
hich, with its stress on the incarnation
f divine love in the human Jesus, has
otent pacifist implications.

ard, Gerald: *The Code of Christ* (N. Y.:
Harper 1941) 168 pp.

study of the Beatitudes as a Christian
ode of action directed toward the vision
f God, in which peacemaking is seen as
culmination of the six preceding beati-
udes which leads into the last two cru-
ial ones.

Kagawa, Toyohiko: *Love, the Law of Life* (Philadelphia: Winston 1929 o.p.) 313 pp.

A systematic presentation of the mysticism of a great Japanese Christian, dealing with the application of love in the major areas of human activity. Absolute pacifism emerges as an integral part of this way of life.

Kelly, Thomas R.: *A Testament of Devotion* (N. Y.: Harper 1941) 124 pp.

A spiritual guidebook that combines the mystical and the practical in religion.

Macgregor, G. H. C.: *The New Testament Basis of Pacifism* (Nyack, N. Y.: Fellowship 1960) 160 pp., including *The Relevance of an Impossible Ideal.*

A textual study of the New Testament ethic and its bearing on the problem of war. The essay on relevance, included in this edition, is Dr. Macgregor's reply to Reinhold Niebuhr's critique of pacifism.

Raven, Charles E.: *The Theological Basis of Christian Pacifism* (N. Y.: Fellowship 1951 o.p.) 87 pp.

Lectures on the relationship of belief to practice, in terms of the grace of Christ, the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit.

Rutenber, Culbert G.: *The Dagger and the Cross* (Nyack, N. Y.: Fellowship 1958) 142 pp.

An exposition of Christian pacifism from the perspective of neo-Reformation theology.

Tolstoi, Leo: *The Kingdom of God and Peace Essays* (N. Y.: Oxford Univ. 1936) 591 pp.

A collection of writings reflecting Tolstoi's conversion to a life based on biblical nonresistance, including "The Kingdom of God Is Within You," "Christianity and Patriotism," "Patriotism and Government," "William Lloyd Garrison," etc.

Tolstoi, Leo: *The Law of Love and the Law of Violence* (N. Y.: Rudolph Field 1948 o.p.) 130 pp.

Written shortly before his death, this is Tolstoi's spiritual "last testament," expounding the need for individual commitment to Christ and criticizing the widespread superficiality of nominal Christianity.

## [261] Christian pacifism and the churches

Jones, Rufus M., ed.: *The Church, the Gospel and War* (N. Y.: Harper 1948 o.p.) 169 pp.

A symposium of articles by such American and English churchmen as Roland H. Bainton, Herbert H. Farmer, Charles W. Iglehart, Kenneth Scott Latourette, Kirby Page, Charles E. Raven, Evelyn Underhill and others.

Nuttall, Geoffrey F.: *Christian Pacifism in History* (Oxford, England: Blackwell 1958) 84 pp.
Brief, documented studies of pacifism in the Early Church, in the Middle Ages, in the 16th and 17th centuries, and in present-day England.

Cadoux, C. J.: *The Early Church and the World* (Edinburgh: Clark 1925) 675 pp.
A scholarly examination of the Gospel and the writings of the Church fathers, showing how the pacifism of the early Church finally yielded to the demands of the state.

Muste, A. J.: *Not By Might* (N. Y.: Harper 1947 o.p.) 227 pp.
An appraisal of the postwar international scene, with a proposal for the adoption of Christian principles as a radically new foreign policy for the United States.

Heering, G. J.: *The Fall of Christianity* (N. Y.: Fellowship 1943 o.p.) 243 pp.
An historical study of the Church, the state and war, with emphasis on the period from Constantine to the modern era.

## [355] The conscientious objector in wartime

Gray, Harold S.: *Character "Bad": The Story of a Conscientious Objector* (N. Y.: Harper 1934 o.p.) 258 pp.
Letters from prison giving an intimate account of why men became COs in World War I, and how they stood up to the cruelties meted out to them.

Sibley, Mulford, & Philip E. Jacob: *Conscription of Conscience* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. 1952) 580 pp.
A comprehensive, informative and objective study of American conscientious objectors during the period from 1940 to 1947.

## [. .] The causes and effects of wars

[355] Fay, Sidney B.: *The Origins of the World War* (N. Y.: Macmillan 1930 o.p.) 577 pp.
A history of the real causes of World War I, showing falseness of war propaganda and exposing the Allies' share of blai

[355] Hamlin, C. H.: *The War Myth in United States History* (N. Y.: Fellowsh 1946) 77 pp.
A minority report on the wars fought the U.S. from 1776 through 1945, exa ining their causes and exploding the my of the "sole guilt" of the enemy in ea case. The first edition was published 1927; this is a revised edition.

[973] Millis, Walter: *The Martial Spi* (N. Y.: Houghton Mifflin 1931) 427 p
A study of the Spanish-American W that emphasizes national psychology a practical politics.

[901] Nef, John U.: *War and Human Pro ress* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. 19 464 pp.
A comprehensive study of the debilitati effects of war on culture in all its aspec

[901] Mumford, Lewis: *In the Name Sanity* (N. Y.: Harcourt, Brace 1954) pp.
A plea for an alternative to the disi tions in modern science and politics th have made the idea of mass extermin tion "respectable."

[355] Toynbee, Arnold J.: *War and Civ zation* (N. Y.: Oxford Univ. 1950) pp.
A compilation of extracts from Toy bee's *A Study of History,* showing th war has been the "proximate cause of t breakdown of every civilization which known for certain to have broken down

## [. .] Miscellaneous

[909] Bowles, Chester: *The New Dim sions of Peace* (N. Y.: Harper 1956) pp.
A liberal view of world politics, prop ing a positive role for American lead ship to ease tensions and aid under veloped countries.

[325] Myrdal, Gunnar: *An American lemma* (N. Y.: Harper 1944) 1483 pp.
An exhaustive, intelligently interpret analysis of the cultural, social and e nomic situation of the Negro in t United States.

[P274] Paton, Alan: *Cry, the Belov Country* (N. Y.: Scribners 1948) 278 p
A novel of the tragedy of racial frictio in contemporary South Africa, valua for its insightful depiction of this ty of human conflict.

*Reprints of this Select List available at 5c each, 25 for $1.*

## *Kierkegaard, Jesus and the Kingdom of God*

IT IS REWARDING to read Kierke-d's *Training in Christianity*. This nine-th-century classic is a plea for faith in ist as the God-Man who saves us from We are to go back and become "con-porary" with the humble earthly Jesus, says, "Come to me, all ye who labor are heavy laden, and I will give you "

ierkegaard, like Marx, reacted keenly to worldly Christianity of which the pom-s rationalistic philosophy of Hegel was expression. Marx turned Hegel "upside n" onto a materialistic secular base. rkegaard punctured worldly Christian-to get at pure Christian faith in the l-Man. As the "paradoxical" God-Man, is cannot be "known," declared Kierke-d; in true Christian faith neither his-nor reason, neither science nor phi-phy are of any account. One must sim-accept Jesus' invitation and come to as God in the flesh.

o FOR member is likely to disagree Kierkegaard's impassioned plea to fe through political and ecclesiastical in-itions to Jesus. But Kierkegaard uncrit-ly accepted—he could hardly do other-in his day—the traditional dualism ween God and man, the source of which *ot* Jesus, but archaic religious elements nforced by Paul, Platonism, and Aris-lianism, a dualism between "upper" "lower," ruler and ruled, still embod-in political and ecclesiastical institu-ns.

o Jesus himself there was no God-Man adox that flouted reason or history. en Jesus preached a *present* kingdom God, when he declared with divine con-nce, "Thy sins are forgiven," and when urged his disciples to do as he did, he was really preaching that *God works naturally through men* as well as through sun, rain, grass, and birds—that God is virtually the great soul of man and the world. Naturally sins are forgiven! Does not one forgive his own sin? Naturally man can rejoice and be free! For he is at heart one with God.

If Jesus had been a theologian, his creative Jewish (not Greek) thought would have developed a non-dualistic view, I believe, similar to that of the scientific Anaximander (Miletus, sixth century B. C.), the Christian philosopher John Scotus Eriugena (Ireland, ninth century), and the enduring *advaita* of India which underlies the work of Gandhi and Vinoba Bhave. In this view God progressively creates forms of the divine potential. The "kingdom of God" is a form or time-pattern which God is creating in the social and natural world.

The message of Jesus, which should be ours today, was doubtless God and God's kingdom. To describe what I think the kingdom meant to Jesus would be to select cultural ideals from the Jewish scriptures (our Old Testament) as Jesus did. To Jesus, God's kingdom must have meant far more than was set down in the Gospel record or practiced by the infant church.

I am convinced that the greatest need of the world today is the view, implicit in the words and deeds of the Master, that God is the creative eternal self of every creature in the world and civilization. We might do well to meditate on what such a simple but universal view, if adopted, would mean for family life, for race and labor relations, for international peace, and for our natural environment which has mothered us and on which our survival depends.

—WENDELL THOMAS

# BOOKS

## The Lower Depths

REPORT FROM PALERMO by Danilo Dolci. Orion Press 1959. 310 pp., $4.

Aside from those who read Giovanni Pioli's article, "Crusade Against Poverty," in FELLOWSHIP three years ago, few Americans know of the redemptive work of Danilo Dolci among the incredibly impoverished people of Sicily. This situation is changing. Not only in Italy but in England, Sweden and other countries, committees have been formed to support Dolci's work, and a similar committee has recently been founded in this country.

The full story of Dolci and his activities remains to be told in English. Aldous Huxley, in his introduction to *Report from Palermo,* gives us a brief glimpse, together with his own assessment of the man: "a modern St. Francis" who is at the same time a scientist whose university training in science "is applied within a frame of reference whose coordinates are an unshakable love for his fellows and a no less unshakable faith in and respect for the objects of that love."

This book is a labor of that love: to the extent that it reveals Dolci it is in the candid picture it gives of Dolci's concerns, for Dolci's part in the book is that of the unseen researcher and interviewer. The words are those of the Sicilian poor, in all their coarseness and color, as Dolci honestly transcribed them.

Nearly all of the book consists of a series of accounts of what these people in the city and countryside of Palermo told Dolci about their conditions of life. A 57-page section at the end lists the answers Dolci received to these questions: "When you are unemployed, how do you manage to live?"; "Do you think it is God's will that you are unemployed?"; "What do you think the various parties in Italy ought to do to get rid of unemployment?"; "Is the ballot secret?" and "What do you think you and each of us should do to get rid of unemployment?"

These are far from academic questions. Official figures show that 26 per cent of the people are completely destitute and another 21.1 per cent are semi-destitute. Unemployed men often see their small children get jobs that are closed to them, working twelve hours a day for miserable wages.

From the pages of this book emerges a heart-rending picture of disease, squalor, illiteracy, hunger and social injustice. Many of the witnesses whose stories are told here are not "nice" people. They are ignorant, susceptible to the most fantastic superstitions, believing in magical cures where adequate health care is not provided them. Many are driven to banditry or prostitution as a way of survival in the moral jungle in which they live.

No summary can do justice to such a book, or even begin to suggest the dimensions of human misery it describes. It is a formidable challenge to the power of human love to redeem the people this book reveals. This is the challenge that Dolci and his friends have taken up. After you have read it, you will very likely want to know what you can do to help. Although this is an unorthodox way to conclude a book review, may I suggest that you write to the reviewer, who is chairman of the Crusade Against Poverty, devoted to aiding Dolci's work. The address is c/o Overseas Friendship Center, 26A Devereux Street, Utica 2, N. Y.

—GELSTON MCNEIL

## Satyagraha: A Dim View

PASSIVE RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA by Leo Kuper. Yale University Press 1957. 266 pp., $3.50.

A professor of sociology at the University of Natal has attempted here to describe the development of passive resistance as a technique against the racial policies of white South Africa, but the total effect is far from comforting for anyone who has hopes for its ultimate "success." Professor Kuper himself is not convinced of its effectiveness, and as his sentiments are clearly against *apartheid,* despite his factual and sociological manner, the reader might well conclude that Professor Kuper, while not actually advocating violence, apparently accepts without too great distress that it will and must occur.

"Under the conditions which prevail in South Africa, it is doubtful whether the Satyagraha form of resistance could con-

and a sufficient following to make it an fective mass movement," Kuper writes. Nor does it seem likely, either, that the lers will be converted by extreme suffer- g when they are so strongly confirmed the ideologies of white domination, or at the subordinate peoples will submit eaceably to violence.

"If this analysis has substance, the lead- s of the 'liberation movements' would ot be justified in subjecting their fol- wers to Satyagraha, save for the effect on e outside world. . . . It is a crucial issue Africa whether Mau Mau or other rms of violence pay better than passive sistance."

It is perhaps one thing to see the prob- bility and even inevitability of an ventual violent upheaval in South Africa, s that government pursues its total segre- ation policies. It is another to slip from is into an acceptance or perhaps even elcoming of such a conflict. For black- nd-white-thinking racists, or on the other nd Marxists, such a "resolution" may em to clear the air by simplifying every- ing to a kill-or-be-killed level. But for e vast majority in between, who want aguely and in some degree or other to ave both peace and justice, every alterna- ve must be hopefully and endlessly ought. This is why it is difficult for this eader to accept Kuper's somewhat super- cial analysis of passive resistance.

Seeing it as primarily a desire to suffer, Kuper states, "From the emphasis on con- version by suffering flow a number of con- sequences which give Satyagraha its characteristic and often enigmatic form. . . . The preferred technique in Satyagraha is civil disobedience . . . the reason for this preferenec is that many forms of non-co- operation, such as for example, the rejec- tion of foreign cloth, may bring little suf- fering, whereas civil disobedience is a guarantee of suffering."

He makes the further astonishing state- ment that "Since the mechanism is of con- version by suffering, there need be no direct relationships between ends and means. It is sufficient to stir the consicence of the rulers by suffering. . . ." Later, how- ever, he says, "Conduct in Satyagraha is thus oriented to an ethic of ultimate ends rather than an ethic of responsibility."

As to the possibility of its really affecting the rulers, Kuper says, "The answer is clear from the Nazi extermination of the Jews that there is no inevitable revulsion of feeling on the part of the rulers. To be sure," he concedes, "the Jews did not practice Satyagraha as recommended to them by Gandhi, and there may be a decisive difference in the consequences of suffering which is only passive and suffer- ing in the more positive spirit of Satya- graha. In any event, there is no doubt that the threshold of indifference to ex- treme forms of suffering may be very high indeed. We must therefore question Gandhi's belief that conversion by the suf- fering of others is universally effective. . . ."


## 1960 PENDLE HILL SUMMER TERM : 1 JULY 22

RUTH HAYS SMITH,* DIRECTOR

ombine study, worship, work and play
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Professor Kuper offers little hope on the other hand that the Bantu people, to whom suffering is not part of their tradition (as it is, Kuper says, of the Hindu), will accept this techinque—nor that the Marxists will, in the final analysis. "Passive resistance is essentially non-revolutionary," Kuper says, "Satyagraha, in particular, being based on collaboration with the rulers. The issues do not affect in any fundamental way the economic structure of society. The trained leaders spend their time in gaol, the physical force of the ruler is rendered more effective by the voluntary submission of the subordinates, and belief in the possibility of converting the rulers blunts the militancy of the subordinates."

Certainly as it is practiced by all kinds of human beings passive resistance has these tendencies towards weakness. But one could as easily—more easily, perhaps—write that "violence is essentially non-revolutionary," since the forceful imposition of one will upon the other is exactly what is objected to in the rulers, and what the "revolutionary" subordinate proposes to do, thus perpetuating the pattern. His cause may be emotionally understandable and numerically "just," but if his ultimate end is not merely the "turning over of the dung heap," it behooves him to examine and support every constructive and creative way of reaching and changing the oppressor, if only so that he himself will not become one. With this understanding, then

---

*BOMB-MAKERS*

*Bomb-makers!*
*I picket you with these verse—*
*There on your barren proving grounds*
*What do you prove as you push*
*Destruction toward the unimagined*
*Toward the unseen, unknown foe*
*To bring successions of singular*
*Terror and torment across*
*Those thousand impartial miles*

*Bomb-makers!*
*I picket you with these verse—*
*You in your hundred factories*
*Loading the lethal powders*
*Doing the delicate precision work*
*Inventing the dozen clever ways*
*To scatter slaughter wider*
*Around the vainly fleeing*
*Strange and desperate millions*

*Bomb-makers!*
*I picket you with these verse—*
*Diggers of iron death in the deep*
*Darkness in a deeper dark*
*This ore is bread for your children*
*And death for whose other children?*
*And smelters by your fierce furnaces*

uffering" is hardly the goal or even the eans sought, but rather a possible conquence.

Despite cumbersome wording and dellopment of an unclear theme, Professor uper has produced a book which is luable as recent background for anyone lving into the current dark racial situaon in South Africa. A number of impornt facts, dates, and quotations are cited, cluding letters in the Appendices from rmer Prime Minister Malan stating in uncertain terms the white supremacy ews which present Prime Minister Verberd is pursuing even more vigorously day. Also attached are letters from the ads of the African and Indian Conesses, and a report of their Joint Planning Council outling its program as of 1951. With subsequent bans and pressures the Congress and individual opponents of *apartheid* have since suffered at the hands of the Nationalist Government, however, such organized efforts within South Africa are increasingly difficult or impossible. Awareness and help from the outside world is even more urgently needed now than ever before, and while Prof. Kuper's book offers few positive suggestions, our continuing to keep the issue public as we search for just alternatives, plus such things as legal aid, UN pressure, trade boycotts, may still have their effect, for as Alan Paton wrote, "White South Africa dislikes world opinion, but it dislikes world disapproval more." —Ann Morrissett

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*What fiercer fires do you mix*
*And where will be their burning?*

*Bomb-makers!*
*I picket you with these verse—*
*Assembled in your solemn show*
*To vote a "yes" that comes out easy*
*And after in the champagne chatter*
*With the smiling moving ladies*
*In the smooth and plush salons*
*Satisfied with self to proudly boast*
*"My vote bought this many dyings"*

*Bomb-makers!*
*I picket you with these verse—*
*In your quiet homes or crowded*
*You seek release from fear and thinking*
*By shoving your conscience on to others*
*You cash the false promise of safety*
*At the bank of somebody else's death*
*You silently weep in cemeteries*
*But pay for massive murderings*

*Man, the bomb-maker*
*The killer of his kind*
*I picket you with these verse!*
*And will thru time until such time*
*As man no longer hears and cares*
*Or ceases self-destruction*

—Carl Seaburg

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### Between the Wars

AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM AND SOCIAL ISSUES 1919-1939 by Robert Moats Miller. Univ. of North Carolina Press 1958. 385 pp., $6.

The younger generation of FOR members will find this book of particular value for it will give them, among other things, a glimpse of the activities both of the Fellowship and of many of its leaders that is not easy to find in such a convenient form. Although the author clearly reveals a bias in favor of the "lesser evil" attitude to war the issue of war and peace occupies little space in this volume. On the other major issues of the inter-war decades—civil liberties, race relations, labor struggles and the quest for a just social order—page after page shines with the names of such FOR men as A. J. Muste, John Nevin Sayre, John Haynes Holmes, Edmund B. Chaffee, Oswald Garrison Villard, Vida Scudder, Edwin McNeil Poteat, Kirby Page, Harry Emerson Fosdick, James Myers, Claud Nelson, Harold Fey and many others, including some—Reinhold Niebuhr and Samuel Shoemaker, for example—who, toward the end of the period, split over the war issue.

We find Holmes and Chaffee fighting the good fight in behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti; Allan Knight Chalmers given "more credit than any other individual" for the eventual freeing of the Scottsboro boys; *The World Tomorrow* standing as a bulwark of sanity during the "Red scare" of 1920; A. J. Muste winning the 1919 Lawrence textile strike, thus beginning "an association with labor unparalleled by that of any other cleric."

All the honors do not go to the FOR. There were other groups, such as the Fellowship of Socialist Christians, now defunct, that carried the banner of radical religion. Still others, such as the Methodist Federation for Social Service, became increasingly tainted with an uncritical adulation of Communism. Many denominational and interdenominational bodies, with the Federal Council of Churches often in the forefront, took a commendable stand on the issues of the day, and here again the names of FOR members are not absent. On many occasions, e.g. the "Red scare," church groups began by bending to the winds of popular feeling, but later came

the position taken earlier by the FOR. Despite theological differences that arose th the birth of neo-orthodoxy about 30, says Miller, "on the practical level of tion there remained basic similarities. -. It would be hard to distinguish be- een the records of some Social Gospel ampions and some neo-orthodox adher- ts in the realm of politics, economics, il liberties, and race relations. . . ."

Although not consistently well-written d occasionally succumbing to unintend- ly facetious turns of phrase, this book s the merit of being well researched; it ncludes with a 20-page bibliography that nges from records of denominational as- mblies to a formidable roster of periodi- ls. As a result of this voluminous re- rch Miller overturns a number of popu- misconceptions about the "conserva- m" of American churches in the 1920s, editing them with improving conditions the steel plants after the 1919 strike was oken, and with securing the release of om Mooney. Even on the most vulner- le points—the Scopes trial, the Al Smith mpaign and the Ku Klux Klan—he shows at God was not without a sizable witness nong American Protestants. And in near- every case, FOR members and some- nes the Fellowship itself exerted an in- nence far greater than their small num- rs. The heritage is one to inspire us as e confront the great social issues of our n time. —W. R. M.

## War and the Roman Catholic Church

ORALS AND MISSILES, edited by Charles Thompson. James Clarke & Co. Ltd, London) 1959. 76 pp., paperback, 35¢.

The Roman Catholic Church has not een noted for its opposition to war. In- ead it has been the foremost exponent of he idea of a just war. The idea of a just ar, formulated in its classic form by homas Aquinas, was a medieval rationale r Christian participation in the kind of ars fought in those days. In modern times me Roman Catholics have found it hard square obliteration bombing and nu- lear warfare with aspects of the just war.

The essays in *Morals and Missiles* re- eal some of the thinking of Roman Cath- olic moralists about modern war. Arch- bishop Roberts of India wrote the opening essay in which he commends the serious study of nonviolent resistance as a strategy but indicates that "Our Lord did not say that violence has no place in His king- dom."

One of the leading Roman writers on theology and war, Franziskus Stratmann, O.P., in discussing War and Christian Con- science, points out that "The Christian Conscience finds today that the still re- peated teaching of the last centuries on 'just war' is at cross purposes with the present reality." He adds that "We Chris- tians who had been trained to faith in the sword were strongly influenced by the repudiation of this faith by the 'pagan' Mahatma Gandhi. He opposed policies based on power with the policy of non- violence which was in conformity with the Sermon on the Mount, and successful as well."

In discussing defensive war Father Strat- mann writes that "it is better to accept the darkness, to surrender ourselves to the all-holy justice and mercy of God, than to take part in mass murder only because the other side commits it." On the other hand, he indicates that "the extreme limit to which one may tolerate atomic armament is its being set up as a deterrent."

One essayist, E. I. Watkin, frankly admits that Roman Bishops "have consistently supported all wars waged by the govern- ment of their country." And no "national hierarchy has condemned as unjust any war, however patently an unjust aggres- sion, declared by such a government."

Although Watkin's essay, "Unjustifiable War," is clearly pacifist, the chief value of his essay is the explanation of the im- potence of the Pope to forbid his followers to participate in war. Even if the Pope were inclined to do so, nationalism would be more potent than papal authority to those "confronted with a foreign enemy." It is such "false patriotism" on the part of "an overwhelming Catholic majority" which "is the scandal," although the failure of the Pope to "forbid Catholics to co- operate in any way with nuclear warfare . . . is in truth a scandal, a stumbling block."

Sir Compton MacKenzie, a layman, writes, "I believe that if Britain told the world that she proposed to disarm completely and went on to do so no other nation could stand up against the impact of such moral leadership."

The concluding essay by Dom Bede Griffiths, O.S.B., is a significant discussion of "The Ideal of Nonviolence." Pointedly he writes of "the fearful paradox that Christianity, which is based on poverty and nonviolence, has come to be identified in the eyes of so many people with capitalism and war." Dom Griffiths goes on to discuss Gandhian nonviolence and to say that "Communism . . . cannot be finally overcome by force." He concludes: "You can counter the absolute spirit of violence in Communism only by a no less absolute spirit of nonviolence."

This series of essays, even though published in Great Britain, is of great significance for American Christians. It reveals the same tendency in Roman as in Protestant circles to re-think the problem of war in the light of nuclear weapons. It is an indication of the growing consideration of nonviolence as well as nuclear pacifism in some sections of the Roman church. And it presents in easily obtainable form a "respectable" pacifist rationale for Roman Catholics.

How valuable this collection of essays is can be seen from its contrast with a recent statement by an American Jesuit theologian, John Courtney Murray, before the Catholic Association for International Peace. Father Murray said, "The Chur does not look immediately to the aboliti of war. Her doctrine still seeks to fulfill i triple traditional function: to condemn w as evil, to limit the evil it entails, and humanize its conduct as far as possible This to Father Murray means limitin rather than ending nuclear war. And there are those who say it is impossib to limit such war, Father Murray wou reply that limited nuclear war is "a mor imperative. In other words, since nucle war may be a necessity, it must be made possibility. Its possibility must be created

—John M. Swomley J


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## The Missouri Synod and War

Modern War and the American Church by Ralph Luther Moellering. The Amer can Press, New York 1956. 141 pp., $2.7

The Missouri Synod of the Luther Church has had fewer pacifists and has be more vocal in its support of war than a other church of its size. For this reason is gratifying that a midwestern pastor the Missouri Synod has written a bo that can serve as an important contributi to the thinking of theology students, pa tors and sensitive laymen of this denom nation.

FOR members and other Christians wh have been discussing the issue for a lo time will, however, find Ralph Moellering book disappointing. They may questio the thoroughness of the book's researc when they read that the Fellowship Reconciliation was founded after the Pea Harbor attack (instead of a quarter ce tury earlier).

Early chapters on the Bible tend t divide the Old and New Testaments to neatly into military and pacifist halve and both treatments are skimpy and litera istic, dealing with isolated texts rath than with the message and meaning of th whole which the texts illuminate.

The main burden of the book, howeve is closer to our own times, and its mo impressive part surveys the attitudes various American church bodies to w during and after World War II. Th Missouri Synod, says Moellering, gave "u equivocal support" to the war. The Met

list Church held fast to the Social Gospel, notes, although it supported Chiang i-shek despite State Department criticism nis regime, because Chiang was a Meth-ist. Of the Roman Catholic Church, oellering says it was "opportunistic," ace there were Papal adherents "in both mps."

The author makes it clear that he is t a pacifist, although "it is difficult to what conceivable good was accom-ished by our entrance into the war." A ldier, he says, "should strive to attain e objective of his military unit with a inimum of casualties on both sides." and om this position he urges reconsidera-on of the doctrine of the just war in the ht of the problem of nuclear weapons. f pacifists he says that Christians "can arn from the useful witness which they ovided in their utter rejection of war" well as from "their emphasis on recon-iation."

If Missouri Synod Lutherans read this ok, it will perform a valuable service raising such questions. Who knows but at a few pacifists will be made when e answers germinate?

—John M. Swomley Jr.

## A Gandhi Sampler

LL Men Are Brothers by Mahatma andhi. UNESCO—Columbia Univ. Press 58. 196 pp., $4.75.

This is a paradoxical book. As an intro-uction to Gandhi it is, with some short-omings, well suited to a popular market; t its price exceeds most other books of milar size.

The book is arranged in twelve chap-rs, each covering a topic such as "Re-gion and Truth" or "International eace." Although the source of each of e brief excerpts from Gandhi's writings given, they are neither dated nor other-ise placed in their historical setting and ere are no excerpts from such an impor-nt work of Gandhi's as the two-volume *onviolence in Peace and War*. The ab-nce of an index is a handicap, but there a good bibliography of works by and out Gandhi to which a reader may turn. everal photographs of Gandhi are inter-spersed through the book, but few are of historical interest or reveal anything of the hard-headed saint whose keen mind and social commitment shine through the text.

Although it is gratifying that UNESCO undertook to bring out this book intended to appeal to a wide public, and plans to follow it with French and Spanish editions, it is regrettable that the result is not nearly as good as it could be. —W. R. M.

## A Foe of Slavery

John Greenleaf Whittier, Fighting Quaker by Ruth Langland Holberg. Crowell 1958. 151 pp., $2.75.

It is good for us to know that the author of "Snowbound," "Barefoot Boy," "Barbara Frietchie," and quiet poems about Quakerism also was in the stormy center of the abolitionist movement. We find him in this book the victim of a barrage of rotten eggs and stones; we see him disguised by wig and coat rushing through a hostile mob into burning Pennsylvania Hall to rescue his anti-slavery papers. Close to physical exhaustion most of his adult life, he definitely needed the prayer, "Drop Thy still dews of quietness till all our strivings cease."

Mrs. Holberg has obviously done a lot of research, but she has failed to produce a lively account in spite of her subject. Few of the young people for whom it is written will read it except as an assignment. —Ruth Best

## Briefly Noted

In recent months, the number of books clamoring for a review has been so great that space simply is not available for them all. We wish it were possible to discuss the following in greater detail, but perhaps the following paragraphs will at least enable readers to know what these books are about.

*Nobel* by Nicholas Halasz (Orion Press 1959. 281 pp., $4.50) is a biography of Alfred Nobel, the idealistic scientist who lived to see one of his inventions, dynamite, become a weapon of war. This book centers

chiefly on the quest of Nobel's tormented conscience for a means of ending war, and it tells of the influence of the pacifist Bertha von Suttner on his thinking, which led him to bequeath his large fortune to the prize fund that bears his name. The narrative is illuminated by many extended quotations from Nobel's correspondence. Written in easy language and emphasizing the personal more than the technical, this book gives the average reader a readily accessible view of a complex and tragic man's life. One point especially makes Nobel relevant for today: the fact that for many years he believed that if war could be made horrible enough, nations would abandon it. It did not take the advent of nuclear weapons, however, nor even the horrors of World War I, to convince Nobel of the folly of this idea of "deterrence."

*Peter Maurin: Gay Believer* by Arthur Sheehan (Doubleday 1959. 217 pp., $3.75) is something of a rarity as a book by and about a pacifist, which bears on it the *imprimatur* and *nihil obstat* of the Roman Catholic Church. Its subject is likewise unusual: Peter Maurin, the co-founder (with Dorothy Day) of the *Catholic Worker*. A French peasant, Maurin came to know the life of American workers by becoming one himself: in 1912, penniless, he was jailed for two days for vagrancy shortly before he went to work in the Pennsylvania coal fields at a wage of $1.50 a day. Nor was this merely "slumming"; Maurin earned his daily bread by hard toil for many years. He was also a devout Catholic who lived under the vows of the De La Salle Brothers for nine years, and a highly literate intellectual, conversant with the writings of Proudhon, Kropotkin, Maritain, Berdyaev and other great minds. It was out of these strands that his quest for peace and social justice was woven. In this saintly life can be found inspiration transcending all boundaries of doctrine or denomination.

*Reflections on the Guillotine* by Albert Camus (Fridtjof-Karla 1959. 55 pp., $4.) brings a brilliant mind to bear on the barbarity of capital punishment. Rejecting many of the traditional arguments, Camus insists, for example, that "it is because man is not fundamentally good that no one among us can set himself up as an absolute judge," and he finds that "capital punishment, in fact, throughout history has always been a religious punishment," though he notes that for the first five centuries of the Christian era "Christians believed that the strict moral teaching of their master forbade them to kill." Although very expensive at list price (a limited supply is available at half price from Fellowship Publications), this challenging and provocative study belongs on the bookshelf of every person who is concerned about the death penalty—particularly those who are in a position to do something about it.

*War Tests the Church* by E. P. Blamires (FOR. London. 1958. 122 pp.. $1) is a handy, small-format paperback by a New Zealand Methodist minister who rings his charges on the Christian churches' reference toward pacifism with unflagging vigor and verve. Most of the references throughout are to British churches and churchmen, a fact that somewhat restricts the usefulness of the book in a country with a different theological atmosphere, but there will undoubtedly be many who will find it useful anyway because of the directness and simplicity of Blamires' style. Eschewing a systematic approach, he ranges handily over the whole field, freely mixing the secular and churchly aspects of the war question. The reader will find few theological subtleties here but a powerful stimulus to further and more careful consideration of the pacifist challenge to the church. This makes the book very useful as a primer of pacifism for those who are uninformed and unconvinced, or as a refresher for pacifists who want to bring their thinking up to date without probing too deeply. —W. R.

## pamphlet reviews

• *Labor and the Cold War* by Stewart Meacham. 29 pp., 35c. Order from: American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Stewart Meacham, an old trade unionist himself and now an AFSC functionary, has written a lively polemic against the cold war. Cram-packed with facts and figures, it is a thumbnail sketch of what's wrong wi

erican policy. For anyone—inside or side the labor movement—who wants data at his fingertips, this is an ideal le pamphlet.

Meacham's concern is not to assess me between America and Russia (he dis- ees with both their foreign policies) but indicate the hopelessness of our present proach to international affairs and its cts on the labor movement specifically. n methodical fashion he outlines the nges wrought in American life by the rrison state." Big business towers like a iath over the economy, enriched by most the $450 billion in military expenditures ce World War II. Whole industries are w beholden to the war monster for sus- ance—the aircraft industry, for instance, es 85 to 90 per cent of its business with Pentagon, and is now the nation's sec- l largest employer.

since 90 per cent of the defense contracts negotiated directly with the brass, rather n put on the open market for bidding, alliance between big business and the litary becomes stronger each day. Despite neral MacArthur's popularized phrase out old soldiers "fading away," it seems t the generals and admirals find lucra- e niches with the giant corporations after y retire from active service.

We are witnessing the emergence of a te above the state, a law unto itself.

With the lush contracts, the corporations ve introduced automation at an unbal- ced pace, showing little regard for its inful social effects on the worker. ielded by the catch-phrase, "defense eds," they receive all kinds of public sub- ies—which you and I pay for. Their ofits are inflated. They "administer" ices, raising them even when demand is w. They inflate profits.

From this focal point Meacham zeroes in the "cold war and national security." ere he paints a picture of the horrors of e new type of warfare, the dangers of war mistake, the suitcase bomb, the danger the ever-pyramiding race between the S. and Russia, the danger of other powers rfecting—and using—nuclear weapons, d the effects of testing.

In precise but simple English he analyzes e unreassuring reassurances given by the ntagon to our confused citizenry. There


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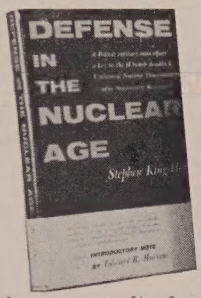


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is the doctrine of "limited war" which spread the illusion that somehow we can contain "little wars"; and the infantile theory that producing still more stockpiles of armaments actually "deters" the Russians rather than leads to battle.

Finally Meacham shows how the emphasis on militarism leads to alliances with unsavory dictators like fascist Franco, Syngman Rhee, Chiang Kai-shek, et al. It is noteworthy that from 1954 to 1956 we gave neutralist and democratic India only 17c per capita in aid, while Rhee got $9.29, Chiang $8.10 and Pakistan $2.69—indicating the military and undemocratic bias of our foreign aid.

The last section offers a constructive program as to what labor can do to reverse the tide.

Whether you are a trade unionist or not, this is the best 35c investment you can make to clarify your views on the most important issue of the day. —Sid Lens

**DISARMAMENT**

(Continued from page 9)

dox persuasion, can no longer justify war on a "lesser evil" basis. They have even lost faith in nuclear deterrence because of its risks and its acceleration of the arms race. They have justified their non-pacifism on the ground that maintenance of stockpiles of weapons, which they as Christians cannot personally use, is useful since our government can then negotiate from strength in an effort to solve world problems and to achieve disarmament. But the Krushchev proposal was not brought to pass as a result of greater U.S. strength. It was our relative decline coupled with the relative increase in Soviet strength that made the Krushchev proposal possible and meaningful. Otherwise, a disarmament proposal would have seemed to us a sign of weakness on their part and a technique for achieving parity with us.

Now that the Soviet Union has achieved military and weapons parity, the only argument those who genuinely want both total disarmament and immediate U. S. armed strength could use in urging a further build-up of U. S. power would be that it is the only way to get Russia to seek disarmament. The Krushchev proposal now eliminates any need for such argument.

The U. S. and the USSR are each stro enough to destroy the other. Since t Soviet Union is now publicly committed total disarmament if we accept and if su able agreements can be negotiated, t problem is on our doorstep. A unilate decision on the part of the U. S. to se the goal of total disarmament and to beg serious negotiations is now required. A how will the U.S. be persuaded to seek su a goal in the face of all the vested int ests pressing for continuance of armamen Only if there is an insistent clamor for d armament from people who really want

**THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT FOR TODAY**

(Continued from page 16)

would cease to be the salt of the earth a the light of the world that she is meant be—entirely apart from the fact that s would never succeed in the attempt. . . . T church must not repine at being depende on the Word and the Spirit alone. Und mayed, she can only, constantly, start o from and fall back upon the fact that lo is the fulfillment of the law, that love is t doer of the good which necessarily eluc those who put their trust in the law. It only on the basis of this "firm faith" that t church can "resist."[9]

Thus community idols, and the automat responses of men in society, are broken continuing revelation. Once more the d ciple is free of illusions about the world practicality of his faith, though free well of illusions about the worldly nece sity for violent resistance. He awakens as moral witness who sees no "dilemma" b tween complying with mass murder a permitting physical incursions against h own social group; who sees in the mus rooming weapons and threats of retaliati not any preservation of the *status quo* b rather a moral cancer that will leave no s ciety worth preserving. He finds social a firmation possible only in opposing the t talitarian violence of governments and i terpreting the Sermon of love to perso who would deal in the moral and physic annihilation of mankind.

9 *How to Serve God in a Marxist Land* (New Yo Association Press, 1959)

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- They refuse to participate in any war or to sanction military preparations; they work to abolish war and to foster good will among nations, races, and classes;
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- They advocate such ways of dealing with offenders against society as shall transform the wrongdoer rather than inflict retributive punishment;
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# Why are these men smiling?

You are looking at a facsimile of the cover of our next issue. It's the biggest issue of FELLOWSHIP in years—and for several good reasons. Two of them are the men on the cover—John Nevin Sayre and A. J. Muste, former editors of this magazine who have served the Fellowship of Reconciliation in a number of capacities throughout most of its history: this year we will celebrate their 75th birthdays.

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*P.S. Don't forget the big Anniversary Dinner in New York, April 21—and similar events in other parts of the country. Check Fellowship's Peace Information Edition and your Regional News Notes for details.*

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